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## OUR PREACHING OF GOD

'TO-DAY,' says Professor Whitehead, 'there is but one religious dogma in debate: What do you mean by God? And in this respect to-day is like all its yesterdays. This is the fundamental religious dogma, and all other dogmas are subsidiary to it.'<sup>1</sup>

When we, as Christians, are asked, 'What do you mean by God?' we answer, 'We mean by God, the God who has been revealed in Christ, and whom we experience in the Spirit.' Trite as this sounds, who of us who knows our Churches would venture to claim that this 'fundamental dogma' of Christianity is held with clearness and conviction? As preachers we all seek to 'preach Christ,' but it is possible so to preach Christ as to obscure the prime significance of God. We have some in our pulpits, and many in our pews, who quite frankly state that, although they seek to follow Christ, God means little to them. The Church has still no more urgent task than to seek to christianize its idea of God, for in the Christian idea of God we have at once the distinctiveness and the power of the Christian gospel.

The failure to give to God a Christian meaning is deeply embedded in the history of Christian thought. In itself the word 'God' is an almost meaningless term. It is still used, even by Christian thinkers, to denote a characterless Absolute of being, or an Absolute of power, who, although called gracious, has yet been conceived as quite arbitrary in His activity. Or, again, in reaction from harsh views about God, many in our Churches have come to think of Him as a sentimentalized deity, concerned only with men's comfort, not the God of the vast universe, but a domesticated 'Daddie,' existing only to give His children a good time. We have

<sup>1</sup> *Religion in the Making*, p. 56.

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conceptions of Him which are incompatible with the holy love of Christ, or a presentation of Him as a sort of Santa Claus in whom it is hard for those to believe who have passed from the fairy world of childhood to the hard realities of adult life.

If, with classic Christian faith, we hold that God has been revealed in Christ, such ideas of God are self-condemned. We have to derive our conception of God, not from pagan philosophy, nor from *a priori* notions of God's absolute power, His justice, or even of His love, but from the historic revelation of God in Christ.

To describe that revelation would be to repeat the whole content of the Synoptic Gospels. We find in our Lord's words no definition of God, no formal statement of His character. His teaching about God is not something we can learn once for all, as in childhood we learnt the theorems of Euclid, or the dates of kings. Like the disciples of old, we have to be much with Jesus if we would learn to know and trust the God whom He reveals.

Our Lord addressed Jews, who were already convinced of God's sole supremacy. Some there were who trusted in God's gracious care. But in general there had been a certain hardening in the thought of God, and His transcendent majesty was greatly emphasized. It was the paradox of our Lord's teaching that the holy God is a God near to us all—a God who is our Father. Yet the thought of God's transcendent holiness was retained. We are bidden to pray for bread for the coming day, but to pray first for the hallowing of God's name, the doing of His will, and the furtherance of His Kingdom. God's grace, for Him, was primary. His confidence for men came not from what He saw of man's natural nobility. It came from His sense of God's utter love and power.

Our Lord's revelation of God was given less in His teaching than in His life. Always He did God's will; always He

was sure of the Heavenly Father's love. That love He made credible to men by His own life of love. And the meaning of His life was summed up in the Cross. He had come, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Like the suffering servant of Isa. liii. 1 He would give His life as a 'ransom for the many.' His death showed, not man's sin alone, but love's victory. It was the revelation of the Father's grace, of the way God deals with human need and sin.

And when Jesus rose from the dead, His disciples learned to see in His Cross, not the end of their hopes, but the content of their gospel. The crucified Jesus they knew to be their risen Lord. In Him was forgiveness of sins; His Spirit was in their midst. They proclaimed Jesus as Christ and Lord, and did so without any sense that they were thus infringing on God's sole supremacy. But in the amazed enthusiasm of those early days they had no time to stay to relate their faith in Jesus to their faith in God.

It was left to Paul to discover the bearing of this faith in Christ on the idea of God. Paul's conversion not only gave him a new Lord to serve; it compelled him to think of God in a new way. God was the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. His glory was no longer to be conceived as that of vindictive justice; His glory was to be seen in the face of Jesus Christ. And Paul learnt to think of God, not with awe alone, but with childlike trust, and felt himself set apart, not only to preach Christ, but to proclaim the holy love of God which Christ revealed.

It is here, as it seems to me, that Paul made his greatest and most distinctive contribution to Christian thought—a contribution which is overlooked both in the 'Paulinism' of the old orthodoxy and in the modern attempt to derive Paul's gospel from pagan cults of a redeemer-god. All Christians alike believed that Christ died for our sins and rose again. But the leaders of the Jerusalem Church failed to work out to the full the implicates of their new faith. With them the difference between Christianity and Judaism

lay merely in the recognition by Christians of the Messiahship of Jesus, of His death for our sins, and His resurrection. With Paul, the difference extended over the whole range of religious experience. It found its most pointed expression in the christianization of the idea of God.

To speak, as many scholars do to-day, of Paul's Christianity as a 'Christ-cult' is to misunderstand the distinctive element in Paul's Christianity. He did not think of Christ in the way pagans thought of their cult-god. In his experience, God and Christ were indistinguishable. Christ was not a cult-god, receiving separate worship. He was the revealer of the Father, in whose eternal life He shared. The love of God was one with the love of Christ. And that holy love of God had found full expression in the Cross of Christ. Through it Paul knew that not recompense, as he had once believed, but forgiving love was the final secret of God's character and rule.

That we could not claim if, with the orthodoxy of the past, we assign to Paul a penal theory of the Atonement. For a penal theory involves that, not grace, but penal justice, is the final principle of God's rule, and only when the claims of penal justice have been satisfied is the way of grace available for men. For myself, I am convinced that there is no such contradiction in Paul's thought. 'Law' and 'wrath' were not, for Paul, permanent attributes of God, but powers, conceived in a half-personal way, which, emanating from God, ruled over this present evil age, hostile to men as God was not. 'The curse of the Law' was not, for him, the curse of God, and 'wrath,' the principle of retribution, did not truly represent the attitude of the God who, while we were yet sinners, so loved us as to give us the Christ who died for us.<sup>1</sup> God is not 'just,' and, in spite of this, the 'justifier.' On the contrary, God's righteousness shows itself in His 'counting just,' or 'justifying.' The

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<sup>1</sup> For proof of this, I would venture to refer to my recent book, *The Gospel of St. Paul*.

terms he employs are legal, but it is not the justice of the law-courts of which he speaks. A judge who 'justifies the ungodly'—i.e. who acquits the guilty—is no judge at all. Not recompense, but reconciliation, had become for Paul the prime word of the gospel. God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—a God who seeks not to be reconciled, but who has reconciled us to Himself in Christ.

We have the same discovery in the Johannine writings. Love's absolute is to be seen in the Father's gift of Christ as well as in the Son's self-dedication. Herein is love, that He laid down His life for us. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us and sent His son to be the propitiation of our sins. Or, as John's Gospel puts it, 'The only begotten son is the exegete of the Father' (i. 18). To see Him is to see the Father. And the supreme proof of the love of God lies here: that He gave His only begotten son.

How different and how more splendid would the later history of Christianity have been if, like its two greatest interpreters, Paul and the writer of 1 John and the Fourth Gospel, its teachers had continued to interpret God through Christ. But that could scarcely be. The pagan world had already reached through its philosophy the conception of a supreme God, whom it conceived as attributeless. And converts from paganism, though they put Christ in the place of all the gods whom they had honoured, did not succeed in christianizing their idea of God. They did, indeed, declare that God was the Maker of heaven and earth, and yet at the same time they continued to identify God with the dim Absolute of pagan thought. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say, as Kaftan does, that the Christian idea of God was differentiated from the pagan only by the assertion that God was triune.<sup>1</sup>

Even in the West, where for the most part there was a more vivid recollection of the historic life of Jesus, there was

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<sup>1</sup> *Dogmatik*, p. 152.

the same failure to interpret God through Christ. Thus Augustine speaks of God, not only as the Absolute of being, but as the Absolute of power, a grim despot in whom it is impossible to discern the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who seeks the lost until He find it. Feudal practice led Anselm to speak of God as an 'offended party' demanding full satisfaction for the injury done to His honour by man's sin. Anselm claims that his theory of the Atonement was proved *remoto Christo*, putting Christ on one side. But that surely is its condemnation. The grace of God cannot be understood apart from Christ. We adore what we see; we could not have foreseen what we adore. Thomas Aquinas, who is to-day the authoritative theologian of the Roman Church, begins his colossal masterpiece, the *Summa Theologica*, with a proof for the existence and attributes of God in which even God's love is 'proved,' without reference to His gift of Christ.<sup>1</sup> To this conception of God, thus reached by natural reason, revelation merely adds the truth that God is triune. That surely is a travesty of the gospel. Christ did not come to reveal God's triunity, but His holy love. The doctrine of the Trinity is not the prime element in the Christian revelation. It is, rather, an intellectual implicate of the Christian experience of God's love.

It was Luther's greatness that he taught men once again to begin with the historic Christ, and to learn from Him what God is like. Of the Roman Church he complained that, although it had preserved the dogma of Christ's divinity, it had never imagined that 'we ought to learn to recognize God in Christ.'

But that complaint was soon to be true of Protestantism also. For this Luther was himself in part responsible. No one since St. Paul had spoken with greater confidence and joy of his discovery of God in Christ. But he spoke also of the *Deus absconditus*, the 'hidden God,' and at times emphasized, as violently as Augustine, God's arbitrary and despotic

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<sup>1</sup> I.Q. xx.

power. And this belief in God's arbitrary predestination received in the later teaching of Calvin a more terrifying, because more cool and consistent, expression. Lutherans and Calvinists alike interpreted Christ's work by their prior conception of God's justice, and thus the grace of God was once more obscured. Even the Aristotelianism which Luther had condemned was revived. Once more the Church forgot that 'we ought to learn to recognize God in Christ.'

That still remains the supreme task for Protestant thought. It is a task in which for the time we can expect no help from the official theologians of the Roman Church. Rome has reaffirmed the authority of Thomas Aquinas, and his attempt to construct a natural theology is now normative for that Church. As Karl Heim puts it, 'As the priest can conjure up the Godhead on the altar of the Mass, so the Catholic philosopher, by the magic word of his proofs from nature and from teleology, can prove the existence of God.'<sup>1</sup> For our proclamation of Christianity, such so-called 'proofs' are irrelevant. At best they lead to the belief in some prime force. They cannot tell us of the character of God. Philosophers differ in their conclusions, not because of difference in intellectual acumen, but because of the difference of the values by which they judge. Philosophy cannot give us the knowledge of God's character. The revelation of God in Christ can provide the values from which one day, as we trust, a truly Christian philosophy will be formulated. For us as Protestants, who seek to base our Christianity upon the New Testament, Christianity means, not the 'deification' of the substance of humanity, but personal communion with a personal God, which has, as its highest expression, not flight from the world, but a service to man, based on faith in God. For such a conception of Christianity the Graeco-Oriental philosophy of the Creeds is inadequate. We need a philosophy which, accepting personal communion with God as the highest value, conceives of God as

<sup>1</sup> *Das Wesen des evangelischen Christentums*, p. 98.

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personal. Already we have the beginnings of a philosophy of personality from which we may hope in time to gain categories more adequate to express the Christian conception of God as the God of holy love, known in the Son and through the Spirit.

Meanwhile we have a more immediate and urgent task—to explore with new earnestness the revelation of God in Christ as experienced in the corporate faith of the Christian Church. No longer may we attempt to interpret God's grace in Christ through our poor notions of God's honour or His justice. As McLeod Campbell said long ago, 'The Atonement has to be seen in its own light.' We cannot deduce it even from what we think God's love must be. It is enough if, now that God has shown forth in Christ His grace, we can in part receive and understand His unimaginable love. There in the Cross we have summed up for us the holy love of God.

And here we have that 'good news' of God it is our privilege to trust and preach. We hear much of the 'problem' of Christianity. But, as we remember God's revelation of Himself in Christ, we know that Christianity is not so much a problem as the answer to the problems we most need to solve. Not for us is the knowledge of the *comprehensores*, of those who have attained. We are *viatores*, pilgrims, and in Christ we have a revelation of God which gives us light enough to tread our hard pilgrim way.

We live in a world which has lost its confidence. The universe has become vaster to our sight. Its meaning is no more clear. Science is revealing ever fresh marvels about the structure of the physical world. But science cannot tell us the secret of the mysterious universe which it explores. That secret is given us in Christ's life and death; it is the holy love which we have seen in Christ upon the cross. Because in Him God is revealed, we need not stand perplexed and dumb before the problems of our age. The most important of all questions is still this: What is God like?

And we know that He is like Christ, that the love of the Son is the love of the Father whose Spirit we find operative in our lives. We dare not preach that love as if it were trite and obvious. Awe remains, and the sense of the immeasurable difference between the holy and the profane. And yet, with wonder and surprise, we dare assert that the final secret of the universe is the holy love which we have seen in Christ. And this is the most practical of all truths, for, if God be holy love, then by that holy love we have to face our sorrows and judge our problems, and in that holy love we may discern the meaning and the permanence of life, and the final goal of all our strivings.

SYDNEY CAVE.

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### ABINGDON PRESS BOOKS

*Highways to International Goodwill*, by W. van Kirk (\$1), sets forth the unity of mankind and the relation between education, economics, diplomacy, humanitarianism, science, youth, and peace. Such subjects as disarmament, militarism, and organizing the world for peace are discussed in a way that will be of real service to speakers. 'The world must be organized for peace,' that is the message, and the world is growing more and more resolved that this shall be done without delay.—*The Holy Spirit*, by Raymond Calkins (\$1.50), is a comprehensive and impressive study of the whole subject, by one whose ministry has been conspicuous for the emphasis it has laid upon the spiritual life of the individual if the Church is to fulfil its high mission of service to humanity. 'A revolution would be caused in our relations with one another if we came, taught by the Holy Ghost, to know that the comfort that is of God is the comfort that strengthens.'—*Revitalizing Religion*, by Albert E. Day (\$1.25), is intended for those to whom religion has ceased to appeal. 'It does not inspire their arts, transform their industries, illumine their homes.' Great themes, such as God in the world to-day, Jesus the Revealer, the Holy Spirit, Salvation, Repentance and Faith, are lighted up in an impressive and helpful way. It is a book much needed and much to be prized.—*Religion in the American College*. By Edward S. Boyer. (\$1.25.) Professor Boyer's survey of the teaching of religion in the colleges of the United States is based on wide investigation. He points out that leaders in religion are coming to see that instruction in religion is the key to advancement for the Church and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. It is a study of no small interest and importance.

## POST-WAR RUSSIA

### II

**A**LTHOUGH the Bolshevik Government has not *yet* justified itself by any material success in its economic policy (whether industrial or agricultural), this, however, cannot be said of its social projects. In a State that is frankly run for the benefit of industrial workers one would expect a great deal of social legislation. It is here, in fact, that the best work of the Soviet is seen. It has had the advantage of absolute virgin ground to work upon ; it has had the disadvantage of being hampered in an unusual degree by lack of money (owing to a suicidal trade policy) ; it has the misfortune of touching only a minute minority of the masses of the Russian people. Immediately after seizing power, the Bolshevik revolutionized the whole organization of industry in its human as well as in its financial aspect. A variety of organizations, local and State, all closely in touch with, and directed by, a strong central authority, dealt with all labour questions. Of necessity, until 1921 much of it was theory without practice, but after that date social legislation proceeded apace. The wages of workmen have been regulated, and have shown a steady increase, although they do not *yet* compare with those of the British workman. It is interesting to note that in 1925 the State threatened a reduction of wages. On the other hand, a seven-hour working day has been established. The actual conditions of work are very closely watched. The Supreme Council of People's Economy has founded in Moscow a practical institution called the State Institute of Labour Protection, which acts in conjunction with the People's Commissariats of Labour and Health Preservation to solve the principal problems in factory sanitation, the technical protection of labour, and the prophylactics of occupational diseases. In their various

departments they undertake scientific inquiry into questions of fatigue and productivity of labour ; they study the best conditions for healthy working ; they carry on research into questions of light, heat, bodily action, lifting of weights, hygienic value of tools ; the chemical analysis and effects of dirt and poisons generated in the process of work. There is a national laboratory dealing with safety devices, such as respirators, masks, glasses ; it also conducts inquiries into clothing and materials for work. Its whole work is based on the actual facts of the factory ; it then standardizes through the medium of scientific research in State laboratories, the results of such research being imposed later as factory legislation.

Nor is the interest of the Soviet confined to work only ; having imposed a seven-hours working day, it provides for leisure. The Soviet regards physical culture as of great importance, both physically and industrially. There are physical culture circles associated with every industry and every town. These circles to-day have 3,500,000 members. All forms of physical exercise and education known and practised in Great Britain can be seen in Russia. The object of these circles is not individual attainment, but mass culture for the mass. Parks, grounds, and stadiums are set aside for their use ; professionalism is not encouraged. State theatres and State opera-houses are to be found in many towns. In these, the Communist worker may go on a certain day in the week (or under some similar provision) at the expense either of the Government or of the other non-privileged members of the community. At first these places were used practically solely for Communist propagandist purposes. For instance, regarding the opening of the Turkoman State Academic Theatre it has been declared that 'the theatre aims at the cultural service of the public, and a gradual advance from old-fashioned traditions, as has been done by the Moscow and Leningrad academic theatres.' It was further stated that the chief aspiration

of the theatre was 'finding work of modern dramatists which shall be at once *ideologically [sic]* suitable and of artistic value.' Public opinion, however, has caused some modification of this propaganda work. In Russia to-day there is a distinct return to the old Russian literary standards of plays and operas. Since 1925, radio and film work have occupied the attention of the Soviet authorities. Work with the wireless began in earnest in 1927. The Trade Union Bureau in that year put down wires for tenement houses in Orehovo-Zuyevo, a large working-class district near Moscow, and the radio stations used here were : (1) the Comintern and (2) the Moscow Municipal Councils', both, of course, being thoroughgoing Communist stations. The people desiring to use the wires had to pay a small advance of not more than 14 roubles, which could be done on the deferred payment system. The radio has now been extended to the Communist village halls by means of telegraphs and telephones. Throughout the Union, including central Asia, Transcaucasia, and Siberia, there are about 200 electric stations with powerful radio amplifiers. It is these stations which will pass the radio to the rural districts by telegraph and telephone wires. At the end of each line will be attached a loud speaker, with a contact. At given hours the connexion is made. No batteries and no lamps are needed. To supervise these installations, in halls and public recreation-rooms, the People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs has set aside 600 technical officers. In 1929 a great national radio campaign was started, and it was estimated that by the end of the year there would be 100,000 loud speakers and 200,000 radio receivers throughout the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Republics are certainly unique in their recognition of the wireless and the film as a State national system of propaganda and education. The Soviet Union began to take an organized interest in the film industry in 1924, when the Association of the Revolutionary Kinematograph (A.R.K.) was formed in Moscow, because, as they said, 'The kinematograph is the

strongest weapon in the struggle for Communist culture.' To-day it has many branches all over the U.S.S.R., and, although a separate organization, is in close touch with the Soviet officials and Foreign Office. The Soviet party regard it as one of the most important means of mass education. It has a large public organization, working in close co-operation with the people themselves. They take films of even the most remote districts in the Soviet Union, for which they have been given special facilities without charge. Much research has been done in the mechanical improvement of production ; and to-day the O.D.S.K., as the national filming industry is called, is one of the foremost in Europe, and aims, not only at the 'kinofication' of its own country through the medium of the theatre and the village hall, but also at the education of Europe.

Housing is going on fairly rapidly, although it has not yet met the requirements of the working population. At first old huge buildings were transformed into workers' flats. These were not very satisfactory, and the next stage was to hand over skeleton buildings for reconstruction inside. These are now being superseded by huge many-storied brick blocks of workmen's flats, planned, not only with a view to the comfort of the flats themselves, but with an eye to children's playgrounds, lawns, and flower-beds. They are very much like the modern German working-men's flats, though not nearly so numerous. They are mostly under the control of the Workers' Co-operative Housing Trust.

The work of the Soviet medical science is closely bound up with workers and industry. The Obrich Institute, for the study of occupational diseases, is the only one of its kind. It has founded night sanatoriums, in which workers sent by doctors spend their leisure time. It does much remedial work against tuberculosis ; it has venereal dispensaries, welfare centres for pregnant women and mothers, lying-in hospitals, crèches, and nursery schools.

Old Age Pension has only been introduced in the Soviet since December 1917. At first it only provided pensions for people engaged in the textile trades. This has been further extended, and, by the law of 1929, covers workers in the mining, metal, and textile industries, and workers on the railroad and water-transport, employing altogether approximately 3,000,000 workers. When one considers that the census of 1926 (December) returned a population for the S.U.S.R. of 144,327,700 (since when two large areas have been added to the Union), one has some conception of the minute minority which this social legislation touches. Workmen are pensioned at the age of sixty, and working women at fifty-five, but in the former case they must not have worked less than twenty-five years, and in the latter not less than twenty years. Miners, however, are pensioned at the age of fifty years, after twenty years' service. The pension is given regardless of health, there being no medical examination at the time of pensioning. It is paid by the organs of social insurance, the amount being equal to half the wages, with a minimum of 20 roubles a month.

Certainly the Soviet State has accomplished much in social legislation and welfare for the industrial worker in a country which had none previous to the war. There is little intrinsically new in the facts of social amelioration as seen in Russia. Practically all western European countries have practised this before the war, on a scale which has included a far greater proportion of its inhabitants than in Russia. But there lies a fundamental difference in the organization of it all. In England, for instance, social work has begun with the people themselves, by voluntary institutions, trade unions, &c. The value of the work has been recognized by the State, sometimes by way of subsidy, sometimes by co-operation, sometimes by monopolization. So to-day in Great Britain, e.g., questions of hours and wages, unemployment, sick insurance, and pensions are purely national State

works ; education, welfare work, physical culture, housing, savour of both State and voluntary enterprise, while wireless, filming, village institutes, hospitals, are almost purely non-State. The same is true in a much less degree in Germany, where the State assumes more responsibility. In the Soviet Union, however, everything to do with the workers is solely a State responsibility. This system, while it has all the advantages of State prestige and money, has none of the inspiration and enthusiasm of voluntary and private enterprise. It is the result of the imposition of the will of the State upon the people rather than that of the people upon the State.

After Leninism itself—if one may coin a word—education is regarded as the best means of propaganda. University and scientific research are particularly favoured by Soviet support. All this higher work has been completely reorganized by the Bolsheviks, and only the skeleton of the former University is maintained. They are now arranged into new departments and bureaux, under the Education Office, while the institutes are under the Office of Industry. The members of the institute, however, often lecture in the University. The two chief University centres are Leningrad and Moscow, where all the higher work is now concentrated, but to counteract this close centralization, which is bad for industry, technical institutes have been founded in various republics, Kharkov, in the Ukraine, and Tomsk, in Siberia, being two of the most important. Leningrad has institutions for radium, geology, astronomy, physics and mathematics, metereology, medicine, wood, agriculture, electrotechnics, communications, and pedagogy. Moscow has similar institutes. Each University has provision for adult education (workers), but the connexion is not close. Kharkov and Tomsk are financially well provided for, but great difficulty is found in staffing them, by reason of their great distance from Moscow. The salary of workers in the University averages from £250 to £300. They may augment their

income by teaching in schools and other classes. In some of the industrial and scientific institutes, patents and discoveries are sold to the Government, and with the money new apparatus is bought. The Universities and institutes are much alive in matters of research. Distinguished investigation has been made in genetics, crystal structure, mineralogy, the chemistry of radio-active substances, seismology, botany, medicine, and agriculture. There is a fine system of agricultural experimental stations throughout the Soviet Union. To-day Russia is in the forefront of the world in scientific research. In the main, the Soviet Union has retained the scientific leaders of an earlier day—but only on the condition that the Ogpu approves their political views. But the educated class, like the peasant, is non-Communist at heart. It is interesting to note here that some time ago, Professor Oldenburg, a scientist of distinction, was removed from the position of Perpetual (?) Secretary of the Academy because of his unapproved sympathies. The University student does not pay any fee unless the parents have money. In actual practice, it is generally regarded that industrial workers have none, but that professional people and shopkeepers have a surplus. Most students get small maintenance grants. Good advanced students, after their University career, may obtain from the State an advanced stipend for three years, which enables them to do research work, and thus qualify for the higher appointments. The best students get posts in the research institutes, in the University and technical schools, while the second-rate folk go into factory laboratories, high schools, and some village schools. It seems to be evident, from an examination of the available facts, that the scientific and industrial side of education is supported rather to the exclusion of the arts. There is not money for both, and, in the eyes of the Bolsheviks, science comes first—and even here money has not been available prior to 1925.

It was upon the education of the children, however, that

the Soviet Government built their hopes. When it first assumed power, Russia largely consisted of an illiterate people, and there were very few schools of any sort. It at once declared for universal education. Even men of fifty years of age were to have two hours' schooling a day. Every child was to be taught in a State school, and brought up in the Communist faith. In the first rush of enthusiasm, old palaces and houses were commandeered and the children were hustled into the schools ; but there were few teachers, and no money to buy books or apparatus. Enthusiasm halted before necessity. In the meantime, a few experimental schools were opened in the towns for workers' children. In 1924 there were actually fewer schools than in pre-war times. The new model schools were all co-educational, conducted on the principles of self-government, and with a great personal freedom which generally degenerated into licence. The children were very definitely trained in the faith of Communism, each school having its Communist club. To-day there are many more schools in the Union, but they are mainly in the towns ; the worst excesses of the early experimental school have disappeared ; law and order have been introduced into the discipline. They are still, however, the nurseries of Bolshevism. They still have their Communist club ; they have now, in addition, films and radios definitely Bolshevik in origin and tone. The basis of membership of the social and recreation clubs is Communist, and it is very difficult for youngsters to resist this subtle pressure. The underlying principle of everything is that education is to contribute to the stability of the Communist State, and that this education is to include all social life. Amongst the older school-children and adolescents are such societies as the Young Pioneers, to popularize Soviet ideas, and the T.R.A.M., a society of adolescents which is 'a closely knit Young Communist League collective for art work, particularly the drama.' The Leningrad T.R.A.M. has an important place among the theatres, and

its performances are sold out a month ahead. The younger children also have their clubs, where games and books are available, and fêtes organized for them in the parks. Nothing is omitted in the school to make the existing régime attractive. As in the Universities, the emphasis of the curriculum is on the scientific and industrial side.

The question of books has been a great problem in the Soviet State, and the production of the same has interested the Government, particularly on the children's side. The legacy of books left by Czarist Russia was very poor, and was still further impoverished by war and revolution. Much has been done from 1918 to remedy this, and since 1921 there has been a well-considered policy : (a) in definite scientific research on children's books, in direct connexion with the psychology of the child mind ; (b) in the provision of books ; (c) in the distribution of the same. A section of Children's Reading was founded in Moscow at the end of 1920, under the auspices of the Institute for Methods of Non-School Pedagogy. This section studies books for children, the child reader himself, and methods of pedagogical work in connexion with reading for pleasure. The scientific research section plans research with regard to the children's reading, and the organization of research work in the country for the working out of methods. They have laboratories for their work, which are provided with reading-rooms for children of pre-school and school age. Here observation is exercised over children's reading, their reaction to various types of books and illustrations, with storytelling. Methods of working are tested. Children's libraries and school libraries are established in various centres, where observation records are kept. The publication department keeps an eye on all foreign literature for children, translates suitable books, publishes lists of books, and brings together author, artist, and printer. All this is done in close co-operation with the research department. A German writer says : 'The Soviet publisher aims at producing artistic books

cheaply, and cheap books artistically.' A third department deals with distribution. Pre-school and school libraries are founded in all districts ; they are fairly numerous in the towns. Everybody takes an interest in the children's books ; many exhibitions of children's books have been arranged throughout the Union ; up-to-date lists of publications are kept in circulation—and this refers not only to school but to recreative books also. In this way interest is generated, the demand becomes great, making cheap books possible. The circulation of the average Russian children's book is anything between 20,000 and 50,000. This makes it possible to produce cheaply a really good artistic book with illustrations in good colours.

Adult education must, of course, hold a large place in the Soviet régime. Neither peasant nor industrial worker had the opportunity of education in Czarist Russia, so that the Soviet Union is necessarily a population of illiterate people. To meet the need of training here, the Commissariat of Education, in the middle of 1926, organized correspondence courses in technical education on a large scale. Three important technical high schools were selected to try the experiment. The courses seem mainly to be run for the industrial worker. The first year is devoted to a preparatory course consisting of five subjects, consisting of applied mathematics, applied physics, chemistry, the principles of mechanics, and mechanical drawing. In the following years they specialize in their particular vocational work. Although Russian literature speaks largely of the worker-peasant correspondents, in actual fact the peasants hardly figure in the story at all. At the Youth Conference of the Worker-Peasant Correspondents in Moscow, held in 1929, over 500,000 worker-peasants were recorded as correspondents. It is interesting to note that the Russian report itself says : 'Although *all* branches of industry were represented, most of the delegates came from the metal industry, the railways, the textile industry, and mining.'

There is, unfortunately, another side to the picture altogether. It is impossible to over-emphasize the fact that all these reforms, good as they are, only touch a very small minority of the masses of the Soviet Union. In some respects they influence hundreds of thousands of people, but there are approximately a hundred *million* who in practice scarcely touch any of these benefits. This is due, not only to the considered policy of the Soviet, but to the great lack of money and the immensity of the Union itself, with its paucity of communications. The general Soviet policy has been to spend money to put the heavy industries 'on their feet,' and then to tackle building and educational programmes, all this running concurrently with propaganda work. Geographically they have begun at Moscow, the new capital; then to Leningrad, the old capital; then other centres of industry; then, finally, the country population. By 1929 they have not done much more than sweep away old standards, and make a good beginning on new work, hence the great poverty and distress to be found everywhere. Moscow is more fortunate than most places, but even here housing is limited and has to be rationed out, while, in Leningrad, buildings are everywhere in a state of dilapidation; people live under unhealthy crowded conditions; they are under-nourished and poorly clothed. As late as summer 1929 most commodities, especially bread, were rationed out. Long food queues were to be seen every morning at the Government depots; heaps of beggars, terribly clothed, haunt the entrances of all hotels and restaurants. Illegitimate children crowd the State institutes; hordes more wander unkempt and uncared-for. What are morals to us, hardly exist in Russia. Marriage and divorce are very easily accomplished; illegitimacy is an accepted factor. It is quite usual for unmarried women to have children because they want them, and, having picked a man with whom to mate, then let him go for ever! A teacher in one of the town high schools has stated that most of the girls

of her senior classes had had sexual experience. Thus are the old standards gone.

Closely related to the morals of the country is the question of Church and religion. Most revolutions have crossed swords with the ecclesiastical organization of the Church, but none except the French Revolution has been so open as the Bolsheviki in its enmity, not merely of the Church, but of Christianity itself. This opposition is both religious and political. To the Bolshevik his Communist principles are at once a religious ideal and a political purpose. His belief is the universal seed which is to develop into a large tree which shall cover the earth. This cannot be done without rooting out Christianity first. The opposition also has a political motive. The old Czarist government was intimately associated with the Church ; the Czar was the head of the Church. This Church (the Greek) was practically the universal Church of Russia, with a dominant political position. It was in itself a strong bond of union between all classes of people. One of the fundamental principles of Bolshevism, on the other hand, is class war. The Soviet Government have done all they can to crush Christianity. Despite deprivation and persecution, there is a strong revival of religious feeling in Russia, and the Church is more securely entrenched in the affections of the people than it was even in Czarist times. It is interesting to note the recrudescence of religious persecution in the Soviet Union during the last few months. It is really a tribute to the present strength of the Church in Russia.

Any survey of post-war Russia without some reference to the foreign propaganda of the Soviet Union would be inadequate. Lenin himself has emphasized the fact that the maintenance of the Bolshevik rule in Russia is only possible : (1) if the peasants support the Communist revolution ; or, failing that, (2) if the minority rule in Russia is well supported by Communistic workers in other European countries. Moreover, one of the rudiments of Bolshevik

faith is that theirs must be a universal religion. Communism had established itself internationally long before the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. It was only the circumstances of Russia which gave the Communist Third International its opportunity to try out their theories. Russia was to be the centre from which Communism was to permeate Europe. Until 1925 the alliance between the Soviet Government and the Communist International (the Comintern) was very close and its activities were felt everywhere in Europe. In the economic crisis of 1925, Russia felt the necessity of relations with other European Governments. These would only give their recognition on the clear understanding that Russia ceased its propaganda work in their respective countries. Since then the Comintern has no *official* alliance with the Soviet Union Government. On the other hand, Communist Russia must still be the dominant factor in the Comintern—as it is still the most important member of the International Association. It could therefore in this capacity alone, control its policy.

It is impossible to foretell the future of the Bolshevik State. Stalin, the new dictator, started last year on a five-year campaign to break down the opposition of the peasant, and to bring agriculture into line with industry on a Communist basis. Up to the present his plans have been greatly hampered by lack of money, and the opposition of the peasants themselves. Fierce riots have taken place in the country districts. How far the poor peasant can withstand the relentless pressure of the State, both in production and distribution, is as yet a matter of conjecture only. The *bourgeois* middle class, which in other revolutions has become the ultimate basis of stabilization, has been practically wiped out in Russia. One wonders whether the development of social legislation and education, giving the personal comforts and culture which have been so reviled by the Communists in the old *bourgeois* class, will not itself in time breed a *new bourgeoisie*, which will differ very little

from the old. Comfort, leisure, security, and private property generally march very well together. It would indeed be a truly ironic circumstance if a new *bourgeoisie* should be one of the main results of the Bolshevik revolution! There are things that are less possible than this. Some have predicted that a combination of the Church and peasants will arise against the Soviet Union. The recent bitter persecution of the Church and peasant postulates great discontent and rioting among these classes. One must remember, however, that these are very scattered, without the means of communication except in a very small degree, and have arrayed against them the armed might of a relentless Soviet Government. There is still another possibility, namely, that the Soviet Government will learn as it goes along. It has already modified its purely Communistic policy in many marked directions. Despite Stalin's new effort to get back to pure Communism, will it continue to modify its early principles, and ultimately become, in practice, a moderate, socialistic State? Nobody can tell. The circumstances, the practices, and the results of the Bolshevik revolution have been so unique that prophecy is vain. But, whatever may eventuate, the Soviet Union deserves the careful attention of Europe.

A. M. EVANS.

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*The Treatment of Pulmonary and Surgical Tuberculosis with Umckaloabo: Internal Medication (Stevens's Cure).* By Adrien Sechehaye. (B. Fraser & Co. 5s.) This is a translation, by Miss H. A. Grant, from the French work, which gives 'historical, experimental researches, clinical observations, results' of the writer's labours in this great field of medical science. In Switzerland, out of 4,000,000 inhabitants, 600,000 are touched by tuberculosis. A full account is given of the case of Mr. Stevens and the African witch-doctor's remedy for consumption, consisting of the vegetable germicide called umckaloabo. His law-suits in defence of his treatment are described, and a full account is given of experiments and results. We only wish that the claims made for this 'cure' could be really established.

### THE IDEAL OF ST. AUGUSTINE

THIS year of grace is witnessing some unusual centenary celebrations. The 'second millennium' of Virgil has already inspired French eloquence at the Sorbonne, for was not the most Christian poet of paganism born in 70 B.C.? An enterprising publishing house has produced a book 'for the nineteenth hundred anniversary of Pentecost.' And soon, at the end of August, all that the Roman Catholic Church can produce of pomp and ceremony will be devoted to the memory of a bishop of an obscure little African town, who died fifteen hundred years ago. In these days when the physical sciences are monopolizing the attention of so large a proportion of students, we do well to take advantage of this modern fashion of 'centenaries.' It may be that the voice of Clio herself will call us to the things that are unseen and eternal.

What claim has St. Augustine on the homage of the twentieth century? He was the author of one of the greatest books in the literature of the world. The *Confessions*, said Gaston Boissier in his charming work *La Fin du Paganisme* (i. 292), is a book whose greatest merit is its sincerity; and sincerity is a rare quality in works of this kind. But we must look further even than the *Confessions*, and search even beyond such rare sincerity, if we are to understand the secret of his continued attractiveness for some of the best minds of our time. On no ecclesiastical writer have so many books been written. Any complete bibliography of works devoted to him would itself be a considerable volume. His outward life was uneventful. Born in 354, of a *bourgeois* family in modest circumstances at Thagaste, educated at Madaura and Carthage, he was only an obscure professor for many a year. He taught rhetoric at Carthage, Rome, and Milan, and then suddenly abandoned his chair to lead a retired life devoted to philosophy. Out of his solitude he emerges to become a priest, and then the bishop of the

small town of Hippo. He rarely left his diocese, and he died as the Vandals were knocking at its gates. It is, from the point of view of one who judges history by external events, an insignificant life. But all its meaning lies in the thought of Augustine. He is 'the Doctor of Grace.'

It is indeed an astonishing fame that he has achieved. If a truly Catholic Church could build a shrine in this year of his fifteenth centenary, the eastern window would most fitly contain a novel *Disputá*, more representative than that in the Vatican frescoes of Raphael. Great theologians, living and beyond the veil, would there be contending in the intellectual combat so dear to the mind of Augustine, as to the historical significance of the saint of the *Confessions*. Luther and Calvin, Jansen and Pascal would find their place in that company; and the window would be crowded with the famous theologians of our own day. Ritschl and Dorner, Troeltsch and Reuter, Figgis and Battifol, Harnack and Loofs would be there. Neither would Dr. John Oman be absent. His great book, *Grace and Personality*, as is well known, is written, partly at least, to counteract the abiding influence of the Augustinian conception of Grace.

This is fame—so to impress one's thoughts on the Western world, that, fifteen hundred years afterwards, the richest minds shall still be debating the significance of those thoughts. And perhaps in the modern tournament of debate this article may serve to break a modest lance.

The issue has been clear since the publication of Hermann Reuter's *Augustinische Studien* in 1887. Is Augustine the Reformer of Church piety, the founder of Mediaeval Catholicism, perhaps even the begetter (though not the only begetter) of the Mediaeval Papacy? Or does he belong essentially to the old dying world of antiquity, one whose eyes are not holden by the existing ecclesiastical system, but perpetually gazing on an ideal which is not of this world? And a second, though a subordinate and more tractable problem, is that of the Neoplatonic influence upon his

spirituality.<sup>1</sup> Is he essentially Christian in his mysticism, or does his picture of the ideal owe more than he himself recognizes to the second of the three influences—Manichaeism, Neoplatonism, and Christianity—which played upon his mind?

Harnack has familiarized English readers with the idea that St. Augustine is the Church teacher whose synthesis of three great circles of thought dominated mediaeval theology, and the real creator of the mediaeval Church.<sup>2</sup> Dorner before him had made St. Augustine into the father of the Papacy.<sup>3</sup> Ritschl blamed St. Augustine for the *Grundsatz*, which has determined the policy of the Papacy in opposition to the State up to the present moment—that the Kingdom of God exists in the form of the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup> In this view, as in so much else, Ritschl was the inspirer and precursor of Harnack. The effect of such an interpretation of St. Augustine's thought is to translate him to the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, Reuter pointed out that when St. Augustine speaks of the Church, he does not mean the organized, hierarchically governed Church, in the mediaeval sense of the word, but rather that part of the communion of saints which is at the moment to be found on the earth. The reaction against the Ritschlian view went further still in the protest of Troeltsch, which has never yet been fully answered. In a work published in 1915, *Augustin, die christliche Antike, und das Mittelalter*, Troeltsch maintained that St. Augustine does not belong to the Middle Ages, but is essentially a child of the Christianity of the ancient world; that his ideas are in no sense a programme of a new epoch in the world's history; and that the conceptions both of

<sup>1</sup> See Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. 467, English trans., 497, for the importance of this question.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Dogma*, v. 4 ff.; *What is Christianity?* 260–5.

<sup>3</sup> *Augustinus* (Berlin, 1878).

<sup>4</sup> *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 147–69; *Rechtf. u. Vers.*, iii. 271–2, English trans., 286.

Church and State envisaged in the *De Civitate Dei* are totally different from those of the Middle Ages. Whatever use later generations made of him is another matter. His real significance is that he was the fashioner of a new *Ethik*. His dominant idea was that of the *Summum Bonum*. It was he who blended Christian piety with that inheritance of Greek religious life which had descended from the Stoics, and which passed through Neoplatonism into his own soul. It was he who christianized the political-social theory of the ancient *lex naturae*, and the Ciceronian philosophy of the State. 'All these diverse elements were linked together in a great ethical system of the *Summum Bonum* by the thought of Christian blessedness and the love of God.'

I do not see how the main contention of Troeltsch can be refuted. Any modifications which can be made<sup>1</sup> do not affect his central thesis. It is probable that Troeltsch did not allow sufficiently for the absorption in the New Testament which powerfully influenced the thought of St. Augustine after his conversion. There is more philosophy of history in the *De Civitate Dei* than Troeltsch will admit. This was made clear by Dr. J. N. Figgis, in *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God*. But as Karl Bauer admits after all his criticisms, Troeltsch seems to have proved his chief contention. And perhaps we may show, by an inquiry into the ideal of St. Augustine, how profoundly religious was this genius who summed up the greatest aspirations of that dying world.

What is the *Summum Bonum*, the final blessedness of man? The answer is never in doubt. It is God. Man can only find the complete satisfaction of his restless desires, and his manifold activity in God. God is the good wherein the angels are blessed.<sup>2</sup> In the course of his spiritual

<sup>1</sup> Troeltsch, *Augustin*, 158-9.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. by Karl Bauer, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1923, N.F. 5, pp. 228-48.

\* *De Civ. Dei*, ix. 22.

development the content of the idea of the *Summum Bonum* increases. At the beginning of his Christian life the intellectual aspect of the ideal is set in the foreground. In God the reason finds its goal and completion. ‘The inner admonition which so works upon us that we remember God, search for Him, thirst for Him, search for Him . . . comes to us from the very source of truth.’<sup>1</sup> To the end St. Augustine held to it that to know God in a communion which was conscious was the goal of life. In a letter<sup>2</sup> written in 417 he speaks of those who know God with a merely intellectual knowledge, without having God dwelling within them, and of those in whom God dwells without their knowing it.

‘Most blessed are they with whom God dwells and who know it. It is this knowledge that is the fullest, truest, happiest.’

To Augustine, God is also the *aeterna pulchritudo*, the fullness of beauty, who is revealed in the harmonious ordering of the world.<sup>3</sup>

‘Though the voices of the prophets were silent, the world itself, by its well-ordered changes and movements, and by the fair appearance of all visible things, bears a testimony of its own, both that it has been created, and also that it could not have been created save by God, whose greatness and beauty are unutterable and invisible.’<sup>4</sup>

Later, the influence of St. Paul brings into prominence the ethical question. Sin is not the mere absence of goodness and beauty, but is a universal depravity of the will. Augustine never surrendered his belief that the evil could be overridden and even used by God, and that the opposition

<sup>1</sup> *De Beata Vita*, 85.   <sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 187, 21.   <sup>3</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, ix. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 4; cf. xxii. 24.

between good and evil could be finally resolved.<sup>1</sup> But a more evangelical view of the sinfulness of sin took possession of his mind. ‘I know of no catholic writer before him,’ says Reuter<sup>2</sup> ‘who has set Law and Gospel over against one another—I will not say after the Pauline fashion, but certainly in a Paulinizing fashion—as Augustine does in the *Liber de spiritu et litera*; no one who so unveils that which is specifically new in the Gospel, its Christian freedom.’ This development was due partly to the stress of the Pelagian controversy, and still more to a deeper study of life in the light of the Pauline gospel.<sup>3</sup> He saw the impossibility of attaining to that love of God which is the crown and fulfilment of morality without the change of the will wrought by the grace of God. The *Summum Bonum*, then, will be to enjoy the God who writes His own law in the hearts of men, by whose presence is shed abroad in our hearts the love which is the fulfilling of the law.<sup>4</sup> Real liberty is promised by the Deliverer.<sup>5</sup>

‘What is better than this blessing, what happier than this happiness—to live to God, to live in God, with whom is the fountain of life, and in whose light we shall see light. Of this life the Lord Himself speaks in these words : *This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* . . . . *We shall be like Him.* . . . . This likeness begins even now to be re-cast in us, while the inward man is being renewed from day to day, according to the image of Him that created Him.’<sup>6</sup>

On such a passage as this, one comment must be made.

<sup>1</sup> See *De Civ. Dei*, xi. 18 (quoting Eccl. xxxiii. 15); xvii. 11; *Enchiridion*, 10, 11, 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Augustinische Studien*, 493, 494.

<sup>3</sup> *Enchiridion*, 38; *De Spir. et Lit.*, c. 5; c. 16; c. 88; c. 17; *Expositio epistolae ad Galatas*, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *De Spir. et Lit.*, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *De Spir. et Lit.*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *De Perf. Just. Hom.*, 9.

The God who is known and who renews the inward man is a God who is perpetually active. He is creative Will. Unlike the Absolute of Plotinus,<sup>1</sup> who is 'beyond existence,' God is living and working in the world He made. 'Were He to withdraw his effective power (*efficacem potentiam*) from things, they . . . would not continue in possession of that nature in which they were created.'<sup>2</sup> 'He that made all does not depart for that He hath no successor.'<sup>3</sup> It is vital for the understanding of Augustine to reach certainty here. If he entered the Church through Neoplatonism, and retained many of the Neoplatonic doctrines, the character of his theology is ultimately determined by a profoundly biblical and Hebraic conception of God. He understood the meaning of that word, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.*<sup>4</sup>

The activity of God is especially shown in the illumination of the human mind and the awakening of the human conscience. Here Augustine appropriates the Logos doctrine as part of his own synthesis. In his earliest writings after his conversion he had spoken of the Light that is poured into our inward eyes.<sup>5</sup> He is the master light of all our seeing. *Deus autem est ipse qui illustrat.*<sup>6</sup> The knowledge of God which is supernaturally given, the saving knowledge which is due to God's grace, is also due to an inward illumination. *Illuminates nostra participatio verbi est.*<sup>7</sup> This participation is an inward communion with God far more intimate than the acknowledgement that *He is not far from each one of us.* This might be understood of this corporeal world. We live in Him and have our being in Him even when we do not know Him. And therefore the word should be taken in a more excellent way (*excellentiore modo*).

<sup>1</sup> All are not with Him in the way in which it is said

<sup>1</sup> See Inge, *Plotinus*, ii. 109–15.

<sup>2</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 24, 2; cf. xii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Conf.*, iv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> See the exposition in *De Genesi ad Litt.*, iv. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *De Beata Vita*, 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Solil.*, i. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *De Trin.*, iv. 2.

to Him, I am continually with Thee. Nor is He with all in that way in which we say, *The Lord be with you.* And so it is the especial wretchedness of man not to be with Him, without whom He cannot be. For beyond a doubt, he is not without Him in whom He is; and yet if he does not remember, and understand, and love Him, he is not with Him.<sup>1</sup>

This wretchedness is due to the sin of man.<sup>2</sup> And this barrier to 'participation in the Word' is removed by the inpouring of a new power, which is love (*caritas*). Love, therefore, is an essential element in the *Summum Bonum*. In a letter<sup>3</sup> to St. Jerome, written about A.D. 415, virtue is described as love which directs our love to that which is worthy to be loved. So long as man is on the earth, that love is capable of increase.

Elsewhere he says that it is God's will for us that, while we are in this mortal flesh, there should always be in us some enemy against which the mind must fight.<sup>4</sup> Pride is the last and most perilous of such enemies, and pride can only be exorcised by love of the supreme and immutable Good. The soul, when it comes to itself, tired of the pleasures of earth, says, like the Lost Son, I will arise and go to my Father. The clearness with which the soul sees God and recognizes His infinite perfection will kindle the love that springs from the vision of Him, will engender that happy and spontaneous goodness, that incapacity to sin, which is the fulfilment and end of our being.<sup>5</sup>

The possession of God and the supreme virtue of love are thus inalienably linked together in St. Augustine's conception of the supreme good. 'This love, inspired by the Holy Spirit, leads to the Son, that is to the wisdom of God, by which the Father Himself is known. . . . When wisdom is sought as it deserves to be, it cannot withdraw

<sup>1</sup> *De Trin.*, xiv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 167, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *C. Jul.*, iv. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 30, 3; *C. Jul.*, iv. 28.

or hide itself from its lovers. . . . It is love that asks, love that seeks, love that knocks, love that reveals, love, too, that gives continuance in that which is revealed.<sup>1</sup> All the cardinal virtues taught by the sages of antiquity are manifestations of love.<sup>2</sup> True self-love is only possible to one who loves God.<sup>3</sup> And there is no surer step towards the love of God than the love of man to man. These quotations come from an early writing against the Manichaeans, but Augustine never wavered in the central position assigned to love in his ethical system.

Love is pre-eminently a social virtue, and Augustine does not neglect to draw out the implications of his doctrine in the life of society. Rarely in all the literature of the soul has any one sung with such passion the praises of that Good which is not lessened by being shared. He has his own doctrine of the ideal society, though it is probable that he did not assert, as the Roman Church claims,<sup>4</sup> the identity of the visible *Ecclesia* with the Kingdom of God. For him the ideal was that of a *communio sanctorum*, while the visible Church contained both good and bad. But the social character of the ideal is seen, above all, in the nineteenth book<sup>5</sup> of the *De Civitate Dei*. There he describes the end as Peace. His thought takes wings and soars. In this great intellectual ode, Peace is our destiny both in time and in eternity. Indeed, as Harnack says, 'in presence of the realization of this blessedness the antithesis of time and eternity, life and death, disappears.'<sup>6</sup>

In such a passage Augustine is revealed as a true 'spectator

<sup>1</sup> *De Mor. Eccl. Cath.*, 81.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 85-47.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>4</sup> So, e.g. emphatically, an authoritative writer like Professor Karl Adam of Tübingen, *Das Wesen des Katholizismus* (1924; English trans., 1929), ch. ii.

<sup>5</sup> cc. 18, 14.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Dogma*, v. 136. Any exposition of this extraordinary passage would demand a volume. Fortunately the volume is already available in the fine work of Harald Fuchs, *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke* (Berlin, 1926).

of all time and all existence.' There can be no doubt as to the secret of his distinction. A recent literary historian has given us the clue in unforgettable words. 'St. Augustine . . . brought the sense of infinity into Latin prose : Latin verse began with it, in Lucretius, and lost it again for centuries. And even in Lucretius it is rather the infinite of negation ; a space that even the swiftest lightning leaves still in darkness ; immortal Death to ease our mortal life. After him, eternity becomes a sort of superlative of time. . . . But the sense that besieges every gate and inlet of the poetry of Donne, that leaves St. Paul beating about for words of length and breadth and depth and height, stumbling on the threshold of the fourth dimension, the *tanto oltraggio*, the mighty outrage on the experience of the human mind of Dante's final ecstasy, of this it is empty. . . . Suddenly, the great wind blows.'

Yes, and we know that when the great wind blows upon the soul of man, it comes of an overwhelming experience of grace, a passionate peace with God. Augustine is the first Christian theologian who gave to the idea of the Beatific Vision of God, the *fruitio Dei*, the culminating place in his thought.<sup>1</sup> He is deep in debt to Plotinus, and the debt is not merely intellectual. Plotinus is one of those whose experience must be shared if his thought is to be understood. Augustine soon proved that he had not only thought the thoughts of Plotinus after him, but had climbed the same ascent to the Beatific Vision. In the *De Beata Vita* (A.D. 386) Augustine places the highest stage of happiness in the presence of God in the human spirit, and describes it as enjoyment of God ! In the *De Quantitate Animae* (A.D. 388) the gradual climbing of the soul to God is divided into seven stages. The last and highest is the ineffable delight of the

<sup>1</sup> Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (Cambridge, 1927), ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> A short sketch of the previous history of the *fruitio Dei* is in Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte*, 197 ff.

vision and contemplation of truth, the enjoyment of the supreme and genuine Good. But the ideal is more fully described in his later writings, the *Confessions*, the *De Civitate Dei*, the *De Trinitate*, and the *De Doctrina Christiana*.

We may distinguish two sides to his thought. In the first place there is an intellectual preparation for the vision of God. In the second place there are moments of attainment of the ideal when the faculties of the mind are silenced and the soul transcends itself, and touches ultimate reality.

The dialectical process is described in the *De Doctrina Christiana*. In the preface to that work he expressly discourages those who imagine that they will attain without application of the mind an ecstatic experience such as that described by St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2-4), and who therefore discourage the reading of the Scriptures and the learning of truth from others. He begins his systematic exposition with a distinction between things which are to be enjoyed and things which are to be used. To enjoy a thing is to rest with satisfaction in it, for its own sake.<sup>1</sup> To use is to employ whatever means are at one's disposal to obtain what one desires, if it is a proper object of desire. This world is meant to be used, not enjoyed, so that the invisible things of God may be clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.<sup>2</sup> The true object of enjoyment is God.<sup>3</sup> This implies a judgement of value.<sup>4</sup> The world may be used, but its use is limited.<sup>5</sup> Since it is our duty fully to enjoy the truth which lives unchangeably, the soul must be purified that it may have power to perceive that light and to rest on it when it is perceived.<sup>6</sup> The goal of this human life is that love of God which is indissolubly linked with love of neighbour and true self-love,<sup>7</sup> and which is perfect so far as is possible in this life.<sup>8</sup> Christ is the first Way to God; the Holy Spirit binds, and as it were seals us, so that we are able to rest permanently in the supreme and unchangeable

<sup>1</sup> i. 3.    <sup>2</sup> i. 4.    <sup>3</sup> i. 5.    <sup>4</sup> Scholz, *Glaube u. Unglaube*, 210.

<sup>5</sup> *De Doctr. Christ.*, i. 10.    <sup>6</sup> i. 10.    <sup>7</sup> i. 27 (ch. 26).    <sup>8</sup> i. 43 (ch. 39).

Good. The fulfilment and end of all Holy Scripture is the love of an object which is to be enjoyed. So the Scriptures themselves are means to an end. The end is love, and love can only reach its perfection with an object which is eternal.<sup>1</sup> A temporal object is valued more before we possess it, and begins to prove worthless the moment we attain it, because it does not satisfy the soul. The soul has its only true and sure resting place in eternity. An eternal object is loved with greater ardour when it is in possession than when it is still an object of desire.<sup>2</sup>

So far the end has been discussed without any hint of the silencing of the faculties of the mind. On the contrary, the search for God demands the use of all the intellectual activity of which the mind is capable. First the outward and visible world must be interrogated. The earth, the heavenly bodies, his own body, are in turn surveyed. They answer : 'We are not the God whom thou seekest.' But they do make some response concerning God. They say : 'He made us.' 'My questioning with them was my thought ; and their answer was their beauty.' This famous passage of the *Confessions*<sup>3</sup> is paralleled by another in his exposition of the Psalms.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that this process was part of the Neoplatonist discipline.<sup>5</sup> He goes on to interrogate his own soul. It comes into the fields and spacious palaces of memory, wherein are hoarded the treasures of innumerable forms brought into it from the things perceived by the senses.<sup>6</sup> But God is not the mind, nor the thoughts in the mind. Augustine is at his most eloquent in describing the riches of memory. The description itself is part of his process of thought. After

<sup>1</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, i. 89.

<sup>2</sup> i. 42 (ch. 38).

<sup>3</sup> x., c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Enarr. ad Psalm xli.*, 7; and C. Butler, *Western Mysticism*, 26-34.

<sup>5</sup> See Gibb and Montgomery, *Confessions* (second ed., 1927), 279.

<sup>6</sup> x., c. 8; cc. 25, 26. See Fulbert Cayré, *La Contemplation Augustinienne* (Paris, 1927), 203-5. Augustine regarded Memory as the fundamental characteristic of Mind conscious of itself.

the mind has detailed all the marvels of memory, the conclusion is reached. God is above even memory.<sup>1</sup> *Transibo ergo et memoriam, ut attingam Eum.* He is not there where multiplicity reigns. Only where unity reigns is He to be found.

Evidently the powers of the human mind are to be exercised in their highest form and severest tension for such a search as this. For it is not till the soul has reached this point that true contemplation begins. ‘That I might attain unto Him I thought on these things, and poured out my soul above myself.’<sup>2</sup> In this phrase is summed up the ‘Recollection’ and the ‘Introversion,’ which are, in Dom Cuthbert Butler’s phrase, ‘the proximate preparation’ for the act of contemplation.

‘Recollection consists first in the effort to banish from the mind all images and thoughts of external things, all sense perceptions and thoughts of creatures; then the reasoning processes of the intellect are silenced, and by this exercise of abstraction a solitude is produced wherein the soul may operate in its most spiritual faculties.’<sup>3</sup> ‘Introversion is the concentration of the mind on its own highest, or deepest, part. . . . It is the final step before the soul finds God.’<sup>4</sup>

The Act of Contemplation, the third or final stage in the quest for God,<sup>5</sup> is described in the celebrated colloquy at Ostia with his mother, Monica.

‘We touched It and hardly touched with the utmost leap of our heart (*toto ictu cordis*).’<sup>6</sup>

Elsewhere in his writings a few revealing phrases fly out like

<sup>1</sup> x., c. 17; Anselm followed him in his *Monologion*.

<sup>2</sup> *Enarr. ad Psalm xli.*, 8. <sup>4</sup> *Western Mysticism*, 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> So Professor Cayré distinguishes it in his clear analysis, *La Contemplation Augustinienne*, 206–9.

<sup>6</sup> *Conf.*, ix. 24.

sparks hammered from an anvil : ' In the flash of a trembling glance my mind came to Ultimate Reality, That which is.' ' I entered and beheld with the eye of my soul, above the same eye of my soul, above my mind, the Light Unchangeable.'

From that everlasting perpetual festivity there sounds in the ears and the heart a mysterious strain, melodious and severe, provided only the world do not drown the sounds.'

On this supreme act of contemplation we may observe : (1) It is not ecstasy or trance. The phenomena of these states were familiar to Augustine.<sup>1</sup> That which distinguishes the experience which he describes from any such complete alienation from the sense, or from any quasi-hypnotic trance, is the strenuousness and thoroughness of the intellectual process which precedes the vision of God.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The experience is in its main outlines Neoplatonic. I have already pointed out that Augustine is no slavish imitator of Plotinus. He thought the thoughts of Plotinus after him. He did more : he lived for himself the experiences of Plotinus, and thereby he added that incommunicable gift of himself, so that the experience became that of Augustine and not merely that of Plotinus. Nevertheless, the resemblances even of language are too close to be accidental. Thus, in the colloquy at Ostia, *toto ictu cordis* corresponds to *ἐπιβολῆ ἀθροη*—'with a mighty leap must the mind seize this which transcends the nature of mind.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Conf.*, vii. 28.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 16.      <sup>3</sup> *Enarr. ad Psalm xli.*, 9.

The evidence is set out and discussed by Dom C. Butler, *Western Mysticism*, 71–8.

This *differentia* has been finely expounded by Mr. W. Montgomery in an unpublished paper which I am permitted to quote, *St. Augustine and Plotinus* (printed privately for the London Society for the Study of Religion). The paper has been used by Dom C. Butler. See op. cit., Appendix on Ecstasy, 887–9.

<sup>1</sup> *Enn.*, i. 6, 7.

'If to any one the tumult of the flesh were silent' almost reproduces a passage in the Fifth *Ennead*:

'Let there be silent unto it (i.e. the soul) not only the body, and the restless surge of the body ( $\delta\tauον\sigmaωματος\kappaλυδων$ ) but also all that is round about it; let the earth be silent and the sea and the air and even the unsullied heaven.'<sup>1</sup>

But the evidence which seems conclusive to the present writer, more conclusive indeed than any of the arguments usually adduced, is the reason which Augustine relies upon for rejecting the idea that God could be found in the spacious palaces of memory. The reason is that in memory we find a multiplicity, and God cannot be where multiplicity is. This is the final presupposition of the Neoplatonic system.<sup>2</sup> Its reappearance at a crucial point in the development of the argument of Augustine shows how his spirituality was dominated by the genius of Plotinus.

Again, the mystical experiences described in the seventh book of the *Confessions* were admittedly pre-Christian or, as Dom Cuthbert Butler calls them, pre-Catholic.

(8) It follows that we cannot admit that his conception of the highest point of contemplation attainable in this life was fully Christian. In one sense any attainment of communion with God is Christian. Christianity at its best has always endorsed and crowned any genuine awareness of the divine. Again, Augustine's experience was mediated by Christians, stirred by memories of Antony, nourished by a mother's prayers. But at this point we are not concerned to deny that Augustine was a Christian saint. The question for the moment is that supreme moment of attainment which is won by a Neoplatonic discipline, and which consists in the silencing of all the faculties of the mind and in

<sup>1</sup> *Enn.*, v. 1, 2; cf. Gibb and Montgomery, *Confessions*, 260.

<sup>2</sup> See Inge's exposition of the Absolute, *Plotinus*, ii. 104-62, especially 127-42.

turning away from all thoughts of this world. Is this the spirituality that is unveiled in the cries of Gethsemane, in the exultation of spirit that the mysteries hidden from the wise and prudent are now revealed to babes? Does Augustine understand the spirituality which relies rather on the power which was made perfect in weakness than on the vision of the third heaven? Or can it be contended that an experience of God wherein Christ is left out, is unnamed even in the most breathless attempts to force language and describe the indescribable, is as fully Christian as the attainment of one who can say: *For me to live is Christ, and to die will be more Christ.* Or of another who can say: *This is eternal life, to know Thee . . . and . . . Christ?*

Surely we must agree with Professor Arundel Chapman in his illuminating discussion of the piety of St. Augustine<sup>1</sup>: 'Magnificent, but not quite the Christian way.' Unlike Santa Teresa, St. Augustine forgets the humanity of Jesus Christ when he draws near to God. In the *De Doctrina Christiana* (i. 38) he interprets the saying of St. Paul, *we know Christ no longer after the flesh*, as meaning that in our communion with God we think no longer of Christ the Man. Such thoughts, says Augustine, belong to the *things behind* (spoken of in Phil. iii. 13) which must be forgotten. Even thoughts of the example of Christ and of His sufferings, are described as milk for babes!<sup>2</sup>

It is the custom in Provence to fashion tiny plaster figures, and to place them before the model of a stable; inside the stable is the Christ-child lying in the manger. And all those who are pressing into the stable carry a gift, all save one. Some have a lamb, some have fruit or corn. They offer their tokens of the common life of man. But one of these tiny figures comes with empty hands. He carries nothing save an air of wonder, and his eyes are full

<sup>1</sup> *Eleven Christians* (London, 1925), 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Tract. xciii. in Joan*; cf. Cayré, *La Contemplation Augustinienne* (Paris, 1927), 155.

of awe. That is why, in Provence, they call him *Le Ravi*. Certainly there is a place in the innermost shrine of the Christian Church for *Le Ravi*, the mystic of the Neoplatonic type, who at the supreme moment of his adoration has turned his back on the common life of man, and offers nothing save his awe. But even so, whether he sees it or not, it is the glory of Christian devotion that, at the summit of attainment, we frail mortal creatures seek and find a human Face in the Deity to welcome us.

A Man like to me  
Thou shalt love and be loved by for ever: a hand like this hand  
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

R. NEWTON FLEW.

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DR. MACDONALD, Rector of St. Dunstan's in the West, has followed his important study of Lanfranc by a volume on *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (Longmans & Co., 21s.). Berengar was probably born at Tours soon after A.D. 1000, of a well-to-do family which had won distinction in the Church. He passed his youth in the glowing cathedral centre at Chartres, where Fulbert was rector, then he became *grammaticus* in the collegiate school at Tours, of which he finally was made rector. He added charm of manner to goodness of heart and uprightness of life. Under him, Tours became one of the most important centres of classical learning in France. A letter which he wrote to Lanfranc brought his views on the Sacrament under suspicion, and a formal sentence of condemnation and excommunication was passed on him at Rome. He did not realize the extent to which he was being made the tool of ecclesiastical policy and political intrigue. He had to affirm his belief that after consecration the bread and wine were 'the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and perceptibly, not only in the Sacrament, but in reality, are touched and broken by the hands of the priest and ground by the teeth of the faithful.' Death would have been the penalty of refusal to submit. His writings show, however, that he was completely free from the materialistic conceptions common to writers of that age. He created no sect, for he was not an organizer, but a student and a man of letters. His message was to the learned; for the mob of illiterate priests and monks he had the greatest contempt. He was no Luther, but a teacher who inspired young men of intellectual genius and won their love. His demand was for freedom to judge the meaning of Scripture with the aid of reason, which in its turn was a divinely inspired faculty. Lanfranc prevented the dissemination of his teaching in England, but it undoubtedly influenced Wyclif towards a denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

## A TRAVELED TALE

**S**T. JOHN OF DAMASCUS is the last of the Greek Fathers. He is important in the history of theology, because he summed up the dogmatic results of the past in his great work *De Fide Orthodoxa*, which became the standard of orthodoxy for the East, much in the same way that the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas did for the West, several centuries later.

We know very little about his life. He belonged to Damascus, which was then ruled by the Khalif Almansur, and for some time he held the honourable office of *πρωτοσύμβουλος*, or chief councillor, under that ruler. He became a priest before the year 735. As he was not a subject of the Byzantine Empire, he was able to maintain a vigorous offensive against Leo the Isaurian in the Iconoclastic controversy, for John was a strong defender of the worship of pictures. His later life was spent in the famous monastery of Mar Saba, which overlooks the gorge of the Kidron, ten miles from Jerusalem. There, some time between 759 and 767, he died. One of his hymns is familiar to English worshippers in Dr. Neale's translation :

The day of resurrection !  
Earth, tell it out abroad.

Among the writings attributed to the Damascene is one of singular interest—a religious romance entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Whether John of Damascus really wrote it or not remains a critical problem : much may be said on either side of the question. It has been attributed to him from the eleventh century, or even earlier. The style in the didactic portions is not unlike his ; in the purely narrative parts there is not any particular resemblance, but there we should scarcely expect it. There is a good deal of matter more or less common to the story and to the undisputed writings

of John of Damascus, but this may be due to the common use of the same sources by him and by another person who is the author of the romance, or to the use by the latter of the Damascene's genuine writings. The author of *Barlaam and Josaphat* quotes from Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, and Nemesius, who were favourite authors with John of Damascus. The earliest manuscript authorities mention 'John the Monk' as the author, and that appears to have been a usual designation of John of Damascus. Some of the manuscripts call the author 'John, monk of the Convent of St. Saba,' and we know that the Damascene was a monk in that convent. The defence of the worship of pictures which comes into the story with what seems unnecessary prominence and emphasis is naturally explained if the book derives from one who lived at the time of the Iconoclastic controversy, and took a leading part in it on that side. It may be added that Damascus was a peculiarly likely *entrepot* for a story which had travelled from India. On the other side three principal arguments have been urged—that there is no attribution to John of Damascus in the earliest manuscripts, or until a great many years after his death; that the references to the Monophysite and Monothelite controversies point to an origin at a date earlier than the Damascene, when those controversies were active; and that there is no mention of Islam. But it may be answered that there is no more reference to Monophysitism and Monothelitism than might be expected in the eighth century, when those issues were by no means extinct, as the discussion of them in the *De Fide Orthodoxa* is alone enough to prove, and that in any case these references are not as vivid, and do not convey the same feeling of being allusions to a question that was an absolutely contemporary one, as is the case with the reference to worship of icons. The absence of any reference to Mohammedanism may be accounted for on the double score of literary propriety and of personal predilection. It would have been an anachronism

to bring Islam into a story which dates itself from shortly after the rise of monasticism in Egypt, that is to say, the third or fourth century. And the Damascene had been all his life in friendly contact with Mohammedans, and had actually been accused by his enemies on that account. The Council held in the Heraeum in 754, which supported Constantine's iconoclasm, anathematized John of Damascus as 'a cursed favourer of the Saracens.'

Probably the question of authorship cannot be solved until some scholar has undertaken an exhaustive comparison between the linguistic characteristics of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, on the one hand, and of the undoubted writings of John of Damascus, on the other. Even then there would remain for further examination the question whether the Greek form of the romance does or does not depend upon an earlier Syriac recension, and therefore whether the Damascene (if he was the author) merely wrote up a story that had come to him orally, or adapted an earlier written romance from another language. For there is no doubt, in any case, that the whole substance of the tale came from India in the first place. There seems to be pretty general agreement among scholars that, whether John of Damascus wrote the Greek version of the romance or not, and whatever oral or written source he used if he did write it, the story really goes back to a lost Pehlevi original.

The story of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is briefly as follows. After India had been evangelized by the Apostle Thomas, a king reigned whose name was Abenner. He hated the Christians, and especially those who lived as hermits. A son was born to him, after he had been childless for many years. The king assembled the astrologers, who predicted for the boy a life of great glory. The most learned of the astrologers, however, foretold that the boy would become a Christian. The king has his son educated in a splendid but secluded palace where he is carefully guarded from all contact with sin and sorrow and death, and also from all

knowledge of the religion of Christ. After a long time he is allowed to leave the palace, but every care has been taken to hide from him all the melancholy aspects of life. There is some carelessness, however, and he chances to encounter a leper, and then a blind man, and finally an old man in utter decrepitude. He asks with horror what these things mean, and discovers the existence of calamity and disease and death. He falls into deep depression of soul. Then Barlaam, a wise and saintly hermit, being warned of God, journeys to India disguised as a merchant, and manages to gain access to the young prince. Barlaam teaches him the truths of the gospel, and Josaphat becomes a Christian. His father makes desperate efforts to seduce him from his new faith. He induces Nachor, who bears a strong resemblance to Barlaam, to undertake the defence of Christianity in a public dispute, that he may be easily defeated in argument and that so the Christian cause may be put to shame. But, like Balaam of old, Nachor is constrained to bless where he meant to curse. He delivers an eloquent defence of the Christian religion. All the king's efforts to win his son from the faith are in vain. So he divides the government of the kingdom with Josaphat, and everything flourishes under the rule of the prince. Finally the king dies penitent, and a believer in his son's faith. Then Josaphat hands over his kingdom to a friend and departs. After searching for two years in the wilderness he finds Barlaam. The old man dies, and Josaphat lives on as a hermit for many years afterward. After his death the king who succeeded him takes the bodies of the two saints to India, where the relics work many wonders.

The romance was widely known in the West during the Middle Ages, largely because it was included in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, and in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, and it has had a good deal of influence, in one way and another, on the popular literature of Europe. Scattered through the romance there are ten aplogues of great interest. In consequence of the mediaeval

popularity of the legend, these fables have passed into many ballads, poems, plays, and collections of popular tales. They are continually reappearing. One is the story of a man who had three friends. He rendered many services to two of them, even hazarding his life for their sakes, while he treated the third slightly. One day he was dragged before the king, who demanded payment of a large debt that he owed. In his distress he went to his friends. The first denied all knowledge of him ; the second was almost as callous ; but the third proved himself a real friend, and went to the king to intercede for him. The fifteenth-century morality play *Everyman* appears to be based upon this story.

Another apologue tells that a fowler caught a nightingale. The bird, being able to talk, promised the fowler that, if he would set her free, she would give him three precepts that would be of great benefit to him all his life long. He freed her, and the bird gave him these three counsels : ‘Never seek to attain the unattainable ; never regret the thing that is past and gone ; never believe the word that passes belief.’ Then, as she flew aloft, the bird said, to put him to the test : ‘What a treasure hast thou lost ! For I have inside me a pearl larger than an ostrich egg !’ The man became desperate at this, and would fain have caught the bird again. Then the nightingale said : ‘Now I know thee to be a mighty fool !’ and went on to show him that in wanting to catch her, and regretting her escape, and believing what she had said about the pearl, he was at once seeking to attain the unattainable, and regretting the thing that was past and gone, and believing a word that passed belief ! This story is the subject of one of Lydgate’s poems, and occurs in many other places as well.

Still another apologue tells of a rich young man who was on a journey and stayed at the house of an old man who appeared to be very poor. The old man had a daughter, who was always singing the praises of God as she worked at her homely tasks. The young man loved her for her wisdom and goodness, and sought her in marriage. Her father objected

on the score of his poverty and the suitor's wealth. But the young man was resolute ; he stripped off his rich clothes, and declared that he would abide there and live and work with them in their poverty. Then the father, having proved the lover's sincerity, took him into his treasury, and showed him a great heap of wealth, for he was really very rich. So the young man acquired both a wife and a fortune. This story is quite possibly the germ of our ballad of 'King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid.'

The most famous of these apologetics, however, is the story of the caskets. The prince has not been disgusted by Barlaam's mean appearance, but has discerned 'the hidden hope within,' and the hermit tells him a fable about a famous king who greeted kindly and humbly two poor and ragged passers-by. His noblemen were offended at this, and to teach them a lesson the king has four wooden chests prepared. Two are covered with gold, but contain mouldering bones. Two are smeared with pitch, but filled with perfumes and jewels. Then the king bids his courtiers choose, and points the obvious moral of their wrong choice.

Now this story of the caskets is found in many versions during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Our English poet Gower has it in the *Confessio Amantis* (II. 207). Some courtiers complained to the king that they were not adequately rewarded. They are offered the choice of two coffers, exactly alike, one of which was filled with gold and gems, and the other with stones, straw, and rubbish. They choose the wrong one, whereupon the king points out that he is not to blame for their insufficient rewards, but it is mere misfortune, like their ill choice in the matter of the caskets.

Lo, saith the king, now maie ye se  
That there is no defaute in me,  
For thy myself I woll acquit  
And bereth ye your owne wite  
Of that fortune hath you refused.

This is precisely the same tale as that told of Ruggieri

de' Figiovanni, a knight in the service of the king of Spain, by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*. It is the first story of the tenth night. Ruggieri thought that the king did not reward his services as he ought to have done, and as he had done with other knights, who had been given castles, cities, and baronies. Once, on a journey, Ruggieri was riding a mule which was the gift of the king. The mule behaved badly, and the knight exclaimed, 'Plague on thee for an ill-conditioned beast, like thy master that gave thee to me!' A servant who accompanied him reported the words to the king. The knight said, when it was asked why he had used such language, 'Because, my lord, you give where you ought not, but where you ought you give nothing, as the mule would not eat where she should, but did it where she should not!' The king replied that, if he had not given to Ruggieri as to others, that was due, not to any insensibility on his part to the knight's merit, but entirely to Ruggieri's misfortune. Then he led him to a hall where there were two coffers, and bade him choose, telling him that one was filled with earth and the other with jewels. He chose the wrong one. The king laughed and said, 'You see that what I said of your fortune was true!' and then dismissed the knight with the present of the gems in the other casket.

There is no doubt that this adaptation of the incident of the caskets ultimately derives from *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and it is quite possible that it may derive directly. Boccaccio was interested in Greek sources. He gave a Greek title, *Δεκαμέρον*, to his collection of tales, and Greek names, like Constantius, Mithridanes, Philostratus, and Sophronia, to many of the characters in the stories. His *Elogues* are full of Greek words, and we know that he collected tales from his Greek friends and preceptors, Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who were exiles from Constantinople. He states himself that Leontius, in particular, was a perfect treasury of Greek stories and fables. There is at least one other story in the *Decameron*—the friar's tale of the youth who had never

seen a woman, in the prologue to the fourth day—that derives from *Barlaam and Josaphat*. There it is the last of the ten aplogues. The story is that a king had a son at whose birth the physicians told him that if the boy should see the sun or fire for the first twelve years of his life he would become blind. Accordingly the child was brought up in an underground chamber. After the twelve years had passed he was brought out, shown all the sights of the world, and told their names. (It is curious that these sights are catalogued as men and women, oxen and sheep, horses and chariots and soldiers, gems and splendid garments, with no mention at all of the greater wonders of nature.) When he wished to know what women were called, one of the attendants replied jokingly, 'Devils that deceive men.' When the day was over, his father asked the boy what sight had pleased him best, and he promptly replied, 'The devils that deceive men!'

The incident of the caskets also passed into the famous mediaeval collection of stories known as the *Gesta Romanorum*. A mighty emperor in Rome had a son who was betrothed to the daughter of the king of Ampluy. On her voyage to Rome for the marriage she was shipwrecked, and had some startling adventures, including that of being swallowed by a whale. Finally she reached Rome and the emperor proceeded to put her to a test, to see if she were worthy to be the wife of his son. She had to choose one of three caskets. The first was of gold studded with gems, but filled with dead men's bones, and bore the inscription, *Who chooseth me shall find what they deserve*. The second was of silver, full of earth and worms, with the inscription, *Who chooseth me shall find what nature desires*. The third was of lead, but was filled with precious stones, and had the inscription, *Who chooseth me shall find what God hath disposed*. She said, 'Doubtless, God never disposeth any harm, therefore, by His leave, this vessel will I choose.' The emperor was satisfied; the wise lady married his son; 'and they continued with much honour to their lives' end.' There is a

somewhat similar detail in another tale found in the *Gesta*, but there it is three cakes instead of three caskets.

Now Shakespeare plainly got the caskets in *The Merchant of Venice* from the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*, or some similar version, but the notion originally derives from *Barlaam and Josaphat*.

It is strange to think that this romance, dating in its present form from more than a thousand years ago, and probably even then deriving from a remoter original in a language which has now been dead for many centuries, has found its way from India into the languages of all the civilized races, and that (as M. Gaston Paris has said) 'the stories which it contains have delighted Buddhists, Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews, that is to say, practically the whole of thinking humanity.'

One very interesting passage in *Barlaam and Josaphat* connects with a remarkable exploit of modern scholarship. Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, tells us that 'Aristides, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, has left to posterity a defence of the faith, addressed to Hadrian.' This may mean the Emperor Hadrian, who reigned from 117 to 138, or his successor Antoninus Pius, who was also called Hadrian. For many centuries this *Apology* of Aristides was lost. Then, in 1889, Dr. Rendel Harris, when on a visit to the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, found a Syriac volume of tracts on ethical subjects which contained a translation of the long lost *Apology*. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, who had been associated with Dr. Rendel Harris in the study of the newly discovered *Apology*, was reading a Latin version of *Barlaam and Josaphat* when he came across a passage which reminded him of the work of Aristides. It proved upon comparison that the speech of Nachor in defence of the Christian faith embodies a large portion of the *Apology*. We had really possessed most of the work of Aristides all the time without knowing it, in the speech of Nachor beginning, 'By the providence of God, O

king, I came into the world ; and when I contemplated the heaven and the earth and the sea, the sun and the moon and the rest of the stars, I was led to marvel at their beautiful order. And when I beheld the world and all that is therein, how it is moved by law, I understood that He who moveth and sustaineth it is God.' There is a hint that the speech is not original, for at the end Nachor says, ' And that thou mayest know, O king, that I do not speak this of myself [*άττ' εμαυτὸν*], look into the writings of the Christians, and thou shalt find that I speak nothing but the truth.'

The most extraordinary fact about *Barlaam and Josaphat*, however, is that the romance is really based upon the legendary life of Buddha. The very name of the hero of the story is a proof of the Buddhist origin of it. When a Frenchman was told that the word *jour* was derived from the word *dies* he remarked, not unnaturally, that in that case it had been *diablement changé en route*. One feels the same about the derivation of Josaphat from Bodhisvatta. But there seems to be no doubt of it. Josaphat is a corruption (influenced in form by the scriptural name Josaphat) of the Greek Ιωσαφ, which itself is probably an attempt to transliterate from the Arabic some form like *Youdsaf* or *Youdsatf*, which again has been misread—there is only the difference of a diacritic sign—from *Boudsatf*, which finally is an Arabic transcription of Bodhisvatta, the name of one who is destined to be a Buddha.

One can scarcely imagine a more freakish exploit of legend than that Buddha, who founded a great religion in the sixth century before Christ, should have become the equivalent, at one extreme, of the Man in the Moon, and, at the other, of a mediaeval Christian saint. Yet both things have happened. In one of the *Jataka* stories the future Buddha is a hare. The animal is of so saintly a character that he exhorts his friends amongst the carnivorous beasts to kindness and piety. One holy day he begs them to give some of their food to hungry men, and then, remembering that he cannot do

this himself, since men cannot eat grass, which is his food, he resolves to give his own body as food for men who need it. Knowing of this resolve, the god Sakka comes in the form of a Brahmin, and begs for food. The hare offers himself and leaps into the fire to be cooked. The fire does not burn him, and Sakka, to make a memorial of the hare's self-sacrifice that shall last as long as the world, splits open a mountain, and with the sap of the mountain (whatever that may mean) draws a picture of the hare on the face of the moon. There, according to the Kalmucks, it may be seen to this day.

Buddha has also become a Christian saint by way of the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat*. There cannot be the smallest doubt that the romance is a christianized version of the legend of Buddha. This was pointed out, first of all, by Laboulaye in 1859. He was followed by Leibrecht in 1860, and many scholars have dealt with the subject since, notably Mr. Joseph Jacobs, in our own land. The slightest summary of the legend of Buddha will make the connexion plain. Thus the legendary biography of Buddha in the *Jataka* and the *Lalita Vistara* tells us that he was the son of a great prince ; that at his birth the wise men predicted his future greatness either as a powerful king, or as a religious leader ; that he was brought up by his father in seclusion, and not allowed to see any of the unhappy sights of the world ; that one day when he is allowed to drive out he sees an old man, another day a sick man, and another day a dead man, and so discovers the evils of age and disease and death ; that he encounters a mendicant ascetic who had abandoned the world and found peace ; that he becomes an ascetic himself, and finally converts his father to the new way of religion. It is the precise outline of the story we find in *Barlaam and Josaphat*.

The two heroes of the legend have been unofficially canonized. The first mention of Josaphat as a saint appears to be in the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Peter de Natalibus, who died in 1370. Later, both St. Barlaam and St. Josaphat

appear in the Roman Martyrology (which was sanctioned by Pope Sixtus V) on November 27, with the note that they lived 'in India, toward the borders of Persia,' and that their 'wonderful acts were written by St. John of Damascus.' In the Great Menology of the Greek Church, St. Josaphat has a place on August 26. He is described there as 'the son of Abenner the king.' In the West there was even a venerated relic of this mythical saint. A part of the backbone of St. Josaphat was given by the Doge of Venice, Luigi Mocenigo, to King Sebastian of Portugal in 1571. Later on, when Spain invaded Portugal, the relic was removed by Antonio, the claimant to the Portuguese throne, and his son Emmanuel presented it in 1683 to the monastery of St. Salvator in Antwerp. It is still kept in the church of St. André in that city.

Is it fantastic to see in this queer accident of legend a prophecy of the day when all that is good in the other great religions of the world will be recognized and absorbed by Christianity? All truth is one, and whatever aspects of truth have been discovered in all the wide pilgrimages of the human spirit are really scattered rays from the Light of the World. As a modern Jew has written of this unconscious recognition of Buddhism by mediaeval Christianity, which quite possibly came about through an early contact with Islam,

The Church mistook? These heathen once  
Among her saints to range!  
That deed of some diviner dunce  
Our wisdom would not change.

HENRY BETT.

## EDUARD MEYER

**A** STRIKING feature of modern biblical criticism has been the number of investigators who have turned from other fields of research to the study of New Testament problems, often to the enrichment of our knowledge and the widening of our vision. Bringing a fresh mind to the inquiry, they have opened up new points of view, suggested different valuations of the existing evidence, and in some cases added materially to the facts which have to be taken into account. Examples of this development can easily be found among the philologists, the historians, men of letters, lawyers, and even the chemists and physicians. Our debt to the late James Hope Moulton, who came to the investigation of New Testament Greek from the study of classics, cannot be exaggerated. In a series of famous works, the humanist, W. M. Ramsay, placed Pauline studies in an altogether new light, and contributed the most fruitful suggestions to the historical study of the Acts. More recently, with the ripe experience and insight derived from his work as a judge, Lord Charnwood wrote one of the most striking works on the Fourth Gospel which have appeared in modern times. The contributions of men of letters have been of less value, though the writings of Mr. H. G. Wells and Mr. Middleton Murry have an interest all their own. If we may judge from the discussions of Professor Strömholm of Upsala and Dr. P. L. Couchoud of Paris, the theories of the chemists and doctors have proved the most fantastic and least profitable of all, although even here something has been contributed, if only from the reactions to which their writings have given rise. It is the historians who have brought most with them as immigrants into new lands, and among these none is more important than Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin.

Professor Meyer is an outstanding German authority on the subject of ancient history, and the author of an important work in five volumes on the history of antiquity. He has

also made a special study of Mormonism, and during the Great War wrote a number of essays on the political and historical issues of the conflict. More recently, in his *Origin and Beginnings of Christianity*, he has turned his attention to the problems of primitive Christianity. This work, which consists of three volumes, treats in great detail the Gospels, the Evolution of Judaism and Jesus of Nazareth, and the Acts and the Beginnings of Christianity.

The circumstances which led Professor Meyer to undertake this study are of the greatest interest. He describes the work of understanding the origin and beginnings of Christianity historically, and of arranging them in the context of their development, as one of the greatest tasks with which the historical investigator is confronted. The task, however, is neglected by historians, who take Christianity as something already given. Professor Meyer says that he has never doubted that his own action must be different if it should be his lot to continue his history of antiquity into these times. He had long thought of the Acts as one of the most important historical works handed down to us from ancient times, and had seen with ever-growing astonishment what treasures lay here unraised, and how blindly research had passed by facts lying there open to view. When he turned to the closer study of this book, he found that it was unsatisfactory to limit the investigation to Luke's second volume; and the analysis of his first book, the Third Gospel, led, of necessity, to the study of his sources, and accordingly to those of the remaining Gospels. The present article, which will be limited to this part of the inquiry, will give some account of the results to which Professor Meyer has come in his investigation of the Gospels.

Broadly speaking, the results reached are positive in character. They represent conclusions which commend themselves to the good sense of an historical investigator who comes to his

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<sup>1</sup> *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, vols. i.-iii. (1921-3).

task with a fresh mind, and is not obsessed by negative views which among many literary critics have become almost traditional. This opinion would not be true of all Professor Meyer's views. On the contrary, it would be easy to collect a number of his judgements which would stamp him as a critic of a very 'advanced' and radical order. For example, he describes Luke's reference to the enrolment (Luke ii. 1 f.) as 'a great chronological error.' The Birth Stories are legends which find analogues in the stories of the Hellenistic world about the births of Alexander, Scipio Africanus, Augustus, and Plato. The idea of the Davidic Descent is 'simply a religious postulate,' fostered by religious discussions with Jews. The account of the Baptist is coloured by later Christian opinion, which saw in him the precursor and herald of its Messiah. The stories of the Baptism and the Temptation are purely mythical formations. In particular, the Temptation is the spiritual recasting of the old myth of the struggle between the good Light God and the hostile powers of evil and darkness. The great passage, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth,' in Matt. xi. 25-30 and Luke x. 21 f., is a literary product, based on Eccl. li., in which a later author puts the essence of his faith into the lips of the Saviour who has brought to him the certainty of salvation. The idea of the Gentile mission, absent from Mark (apart from the Eschatological Discourse in chap. xiii.), from Q, and from Matthew's special source, first appears in Luke, who here shows himself to be the 'true pupil of Paul.' As for the Fourth Gospel, it is the free creation of its author, and is valuable as an historical source only in so far as we can pick out the raw material which is recast. How people can doubt that the Evangelist has assumed the mask of the son of Zebedee is for Professor Meyer one of the things which remain unintelligible in the assertions of modern critics. This selected list might seem to contradict the estimate of Professor Meyer's work already expressed, but such a conclusion would be entirely misleading. These opinions are certainly

Professor Meyer's, but they are not the characteristic views advanced in his work ; they are, rather, the positions which he has accepted from current critical works read as a preparation for his task, especially the works of J. Wellhausen, E. Schwartz, and E. Norden. The significant things in the contributions of an historian who turns to the study of Gospel origins are not points in which he re-echoes current critical views, but pronouncements in which he runs directly athwart the opinions of the critical market-place or expresses new views of his own. Professor Meyer's work contains an abundance of such views, and they are all the more remarkable when read in the light of the other opinions which have just been indicated.

We shall do well to begin with the Gospel of Mark. Here Professor Meyer opposes the view, very popular at the moment, which sees in Mark a mere compilator who strings together an artificial collection of narratives and sayings. He has no doubt that originally the accounts of the miracles and sayings of Jesus were handed down separately and without temporal statements, but he holds that for the most part Mark gives a narrative in which externally as well as internally an historical development emerges. Mark is no mere compilator ; he has worked out the development consciously and with great skill, and calls for readers who know how to read between the lines. He rejects the opinion of Wellhausen, who finds the signs of real history wanting in Mark, and speaks of the separate narratives as *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. On the contrary, Mark's desire is to give the development of the gospel, the message of salvation, as Jesus has brought it through His teaching, His deeds, and His fate, to the world and to the believing community of the elect. The foundation assumption is faith in the Messiahship and divine Sonship of Jesus. For this conception the origin, family, and youth of Jesus were matters of complete indifference, and it is an unreasonable demand that Mark should give information about these things after the manner of

a modern biographer or historian of religion. If in the account of the Baptism and the Descent of the Spirit the narrative is ruled by later Christian views, the human and individual characteristics of Jesus belonging to the oldest tradition still emerge so vividly 'that they make it possible to gain a satisfactory picture of His development and of His teaching.'<sup>1</sup> While rejecting theories which seek to trace an original *Mark*, or *Ur-Markus*, behind the present Gospel, Professor Meyer believes it possible to trace some of the special sources which *Mark* used, and which already had assumed a written form.

The account given of *Mark*'s sources is neat and relatively simple. Professor Meyer thinks that *Mark* used a *Disciple Source* which, in the case of *Mark* vi. 30–viii. 26, was current in two forms. In this source, which includes most of the *Markan* incidents, the disciples, while prominent, are an unnamed group. In addition to this document, a *Twelve Source* was also used.<sup>2</sup> This source is distinct from the Disciple Source by the fact that in it 'the Twelve' are specially mentioned as such. Besides these two sources, *Mark* used the *Apocalyptic Document*, which forms the basis of chap. xiii., and a number of *Petrine Stories*, in which, as the term indicates, Peter plays a prominent part. All these sources are given a comparatively early date. The Disciple Source is traced to the circle of Peter; the Twelve Source is dated not later than A.D. 44; the Apocalyptic Document is assigned to the fifth decade or to the beginning of the sixth; and the entire Gospel is dated about A.D. 55. Professor Meyer claims that the result gained is of the highest importance. 'We have to reckon,' he says, 'not merely with documents of the second, post-apostolic generation, but are led far beyond these into the midst of the first generation.'

<sup>1</sup> p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> The following passages are derived from the Twelve Source: *Mark* iii. 15–19, iv. 10b–12, vi. 7–18, ix. 38–56, x. 32b–45, xiv. 1, 2, 10, 11, 17–24.

<sup>3</sup> p. 146.

The significant thing about this summary is not its account of the Markan sources. The theory, as a matter of fact, has met with very little favour, and the reasons for this are not far to seek. It is certainly strange that in one series of narratives we should read of 'the Twelve,' and in another of 'the disciples'; but this is altogether too slender a basis on which to build a theory of separate and written sources. Again, in view of the nature of the Eschatological Discourse in Mark xiii., it is more probable that the Gospel was not written until shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, about the year A.D. 66. These matters may be left to the source critics: the important element in Professor Meyer's contribution is not where he speaks as a delineator of sources, but where he speaks as an historian; it lies in his conviction, clearly implied in his hypothesis, that the Gospel contains a very considerable proportion of old material—not the narratives of the second generation of Christians, but those of the primitive community. In such a matter his opinions are those of a first-rate historical authority; and their range and importance will be still more evident if some account is given of his treatment of the Petrine stories.

Professor Meyer is keenly interested in the great rôle played by Peter in Mark. He is strangely sceptical about the value of the vivid narrative of the Call of the First Disciples (Mark i. 16–20) which impressed Johannes Weiss so strongly as a story related from the point of view of the fishermen on the water; but from this point onward his opinion is positive and his appreciation whole-hearted. He notes how the stories of Mark i. 21 ff. are staged at Peter's home, Capernaum, and points out that the story of the Flight (Mark i. 35–9) 'has manifestly impressed Peter quite vividly.' In like manner, the stories of the Confession of Peter (Mark viii. 27–30) and of the Transfiguration (Mark ix. 2–8) go 'back to Peter himself.' Professor Meyer decisively rejects the views of those critics who dismiss the Transfiguration as a myth or a secondary reflex of the Resurrection stories. As far

back as 1912 he contested this conception in his *Origin and History of the Mormons*, where he compared the Transfiguration with the precisely dated vision in June 1829 of Joseph Smith and his three companions. He believes that the Markan story bears the character of a real vision in a far higher measure than any one of the Resurrection narratives, apart, perhaps, from that of the appearance to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. 'Accordingly,' he writes, 'there is no ground at all to doubt that Peter has experienced the event, and narrated it, and has firmly believed in its reality.'<sup>1</sup> To explain it psychologically, he adds, is not the historian's task; for him it is enough that events of this kind have often been of decisive importance for religious and even political development. Of the narratives of Gethsemane and the Denial he says that, if anywhere at all, these scenes 'bear the full impress of authenticity. They can go back only to Peter himself.'<sup>2</sup> 'These events must have made an indelible impression on Peter,' and he narrated them to humble himself. 'It is the same Peter whom we subsequently find in the story, full of zeal for the gospel and its diffusion, but then indeed once more, when it is a question of great decisions, as in the case of the Gentile mission or as concerns Paul, full of hesitations and without the firm power of resolution and the capability of going consistently to the end.'<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen went so far as to say that in Mark there is no trace of personally coloured communications. With this view Professor Meyer breaks decisively. 'Precisely the contrary,' he says, 'is true.'

According to Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis early in the second century, the tradition which he himself had received was that 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the things done and said by Christ, but not however in order.' Professor Meyer justly speaks of this statement as one which 'rests on

<sup>1</sup> p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> p. 156.

the very best tradition.'<sup>1</sup> As against Wellhausen's objection that the miracle stories prevent us from tracing back the record to the most intimate disciple of Jesus, he urges that at all times eye-witnesses narrate such stories, just as in Mark, not only in the Middle Ages, and in the Greek world and the East, but also at the present day. He claims that the Markan stories do not merely rest on popular tradition, but upon the reminiscences of definite individuals.

The same favourable estimate is extended to other Markan stories than those in which Peter is prominent. The record of the Sojourn of Jesus in Jerusalem is described as showing 'the same vividness and the same well-conceived superstructure as in the earlier sections.'<sup>2</sup> The story of the Entry into Jerusalem corresponds to that of Peter's Confession, and the same is true of the account of the Cleansing, where 'the claim to be the Messiah is quite undeniable,'<sup>3</sup> and from which the determination to destroy Jesus arises. 'All these narratives are so vivid and lifelike, and suit the situation so completely that there can be no doubt that they go back to the best tradition, and in all essentials are authentic.'<sup>4</sup> In considering the attitude of Jesus at this time, Professor Meyer instances the manner in which Gaius Gracchus foresaw the fate which confronted him and the Roman people, and how repeatedly he gave touching expression to this prospect. As for the date of the Supper and the Crucifixion, Professor Meyer joins the increasing band of scholars who prefer the Johannine representation, which dates both events before the Passover (cf. John xviii. 28, 39, xix. 14, 31), and is supported by features in Mark itself (cf. xiv. 2, 'Not during the feast'). The impression left on the mind of the primitive community by the treachery of Judas is compared with that produced on the Academy of Plato by the treachery of Callippus against Dion in 354 b.c. The Judas story, he

<sup>1</sup> p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> p. 166.

claims, is quite indispensable to the right holding of the Messianic character of Jesus, and necessarily belongs to the genuine element in Mark. For the trustworthy account of the Crucifixion and the hours on the cross the Christian community was indebted to the women 'who, when He was in Galilee, followed Him, and ministered unto Him' (Mark xv. 41); the reference to Simon of Cyrene shows precise knowledge of detail, like the story of the Denial; the story of the Mocking is naturally told, and it is only with injustice that the reference to the two robbers has caused offence. A more important feature still is the firmness with which Professor Meyer holds the conviction that Jesus confessed Himself as the Messiah. He remarks that it is intelligible that liberal theology wishes to set aside the tradition, but that Mark xiv. 62 (in which Jesus answers the high priest's question with the words, 'I am') cannot be excised from the Markan text. Jesus, moreover, was crucified as the Messiah, as the inscription on the cross shows, while His claim to be the Messiah is implicit in His choice of the Twelve as the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel. It will be seen from this summary of Professor Meyer's results how highly he estimates the value of Mark as an historical source for the life and mission of Jesus.

From Mark we turn to the source Q, from which Matthew and Luke drew so many of the sayings of Jesus. Here Professor Meyer has much less to communicate in respect both of interest and of value. Contrary to the view characteristic of the British school, he holds that Q is sometimes dependent on Mark, and is to be dated about A.D. 70. In this persuasion he has been influenced by Wellhausen's view of Matt. xxiii. 35, which speaks of the murder of righteous men 'from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zachariah son of Barachiah,' who was slain 'between the sanctuary and the altar.' It is almost universally allowed that 'Barachiah' is a scribal error, and the usual view is that the reference of Jesus was to 'Zechariah the son of Jehoiada'

(2 Chron. xxiv. 20 f.), a suggestion which is especially commendable, because in this case the tale of murder includes all the recorded instances, from the first to the last, mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. With Wellhausen, Professor Meyer rejects this eminently satisfactory explanation, preferring to find the victim in question in Zacharias 'the son of Baruch' (or 'Bariscaius'), who, according to Josephus (*Bell. iv. 5. 4*), was murdered 'in the midst of the Temple' by two Zealots in A.D. 67. He is not in the least deterred by the fact that in consequence the saying becomes 'a word which originated within the community' and was placed in the mouth of Jesus, and seeks to cover the weakness of this feeble hypothesis by the suggestion that such a procedure was 'entirely inoffensive' for that time. In spite, however, of this view, and the opinion that in certain sections, like the Beelzebub controversy, Q is secondary as compared with Mark, Professor Meyer thinks that the greater part of the source represents early tradition; it assumes, he says, a fixed tradition about the deeds and fortunes of Jesus, and one in the same form as that present in Mark and its sources. A mutual independence of Mark and Q is not to be thought of; they are both 'breakings,' or offshoots, from the same uniform tradition. 'Both go back to the oldest phase of Christianity, which is still rooted entirely in Judaism.'<sup>1</sup> The Aramaic basis of Q is 'especially strong,' and either this source or its kernel represents the Matthew-Logia of which Papias spoke when he wrote: 'Matthew wrote the Logia in Hebrew, and each man interpreted them as he was able.' 'Nothing,' writes Professor Meyer, 'stands in the way of supposing that Q, naturally in Hebrew or Aramaic, was the document which the Apostle Matthew either wrote himself, or at least used in his sermons.'<sup>2</sup> In a footnote, he observes with pleasure that Harnack inclines to the same conception in his *Origin of the New Testament* (1914), where he speaks

<sup>1</sup> p. 226.<sup>2</sup> p. 250.

of 'the sayings-collection whose author was probably the Apostle Matthew.'

Mention must next be made of the special sources (other than Mark and Q) which were used by Matthew and Luke. Here Professor Meyer's opinions are especially interesting when we call to mind two outstanding hypotheses advanced by Canon Streeter in *The Four Gospels* (1924). These suggestions are (1) the view that, besides Q, Matthew used a second Jerusalem collection of the sayings and parables of Jesus (M), and (2) the hypothesis that Luke used a special source (L), consisting of sayings, parables, and narratives. Since the work of Professor Meyer is independent of, and indeed earlier than, that of Canon Streeter, the striking amount of agreement between them furnishes a refutation of the idea that source-criticism is an entirely subjective undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Meyer remarks that 'it is clearly evident that Matthew has probably taken over a whole number of sayings, discourses, and parables from other sources than Mark and Q.'<sup>2</sup> He immediately adds—and the observation is characteristic—that it is also evident 'that no other independent tradition about the life of Jesus beyond Mark stood at his disposal.' Many of the passages singled out for notice are precisely those to which Canon Streeter has drawn attention, such as Matt. v. 17–vi. 8, xvi. 17–20, xviii. 21 f., xix. 10–12, xxiv. 10–12, and xxv. 31–46. He thinks that Matthew binds together with Mark two collections of 'words of the Lord,' Q and the 'Matthew-source,' and adds the further remark that 'both these form its foundation and its peculiar character,' while Markan material is inserted in order to supplement them.<sup>3</sup> An even closer parallel to Canon Streeter's views appears in the account given of Luke's 'special source.'

<sup>1</sup> In *The Gospels: A Short Introduction* (1930) I have given another illustration of this in the case of M. Albertz. Cf. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> p. 250.

We seem almost to be reading Canon Streeter's words when Professor Meyer says of the Lukan version of the Lord's Prayer : 'The setting of the prayer deviates so strongly from that given in Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount (vi. 9 ff.) that it cannot possibly spring from the same source.'<sup>1</sup> His general conclusion is that 'besides Mark and Q, in a different manner from that of Matthew, Luke has used at least a second narrative work about Jesus' which contained only a few isolated sayings, but more detailed parables and instructive single incidents and discourses closely related to them.' Authentic tradition is present in individual cases, 'but in general, compared with Mark, and above all with the Disciple Sources, it bears an essentially later character.'<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that Professor Meyer has nothing to say as regards the *manner* in which Luke has used this special source. Of Luke's work as a whole he says that it is 'a scientific working up of the tradition.'<sup>3</sup> In great sections of the Acts the author 'narrates things which he himself experienced and which he records in the first person.'<sup>4</sup> His treatment is likened to that of Polybius and Livy, and the Prologue, which is the Preface to the whole work Luke-Acts, shows that 'the author possesses the usual literary culture of the Hellenistic-Roman time, and claims for his work a place in literature.'<sup>5</sup> Matthew is described as springing out of Jewish-Christian circles in Palestine : 'it stands closer to the original views than [Luke], if it does not preserve them so purely as Mark.'<sup>6</sup> This observation brings us back to the characteristically whole-hearted appreciation with which Professor Meyer views the Markan Gospel. He points out that both Matthew and Luke aimed at replacing Mark, but that 'it is proof of the high regard which Mark had already won that the driving-out process did not succeed,'<sup>7</sup> and that this is to be explained by its wide circulation and

<sup>1</sup> p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> p. 241.

<sup>8</sup> p. 238.

by the fact that the authority of Peter stood behind it, 'as the well-grounded tradition taught and its contents proved.'

The account given above will be sufficient, it is hoped, to show the value of Professor Meyer's entrance into the field of Gospel criticism. His best contribution is given whenever he speaks with the weight of a trained historical authority. Where he essays the task of the source-critic his strength is as other men's and he has not more than interesting suggestions to offer. It is natural that his contribution is at its greatest in the case of Mark, and only to a less degree in respect of Luke. When it is a question of a sayings-source like Q, and, still more, a Gospel like that of John, he has little to offer. He sees the Fourth Gospel merely as a working up of primitive tradition on the basis of the theological postulates laid down in the Prologue (i. 1-18), although even in the case of this Gospel his appreciation of its historical foundations appears in his hypothesis of a special Johannine source which contained elements of value, such as the correct arrangement of the day of the Crucifixion. If we look rather to the positive elements in Professor Meyer's work, it is evident that Gospel critics have everything to gain when investigators trained in other fields look over their shoulders. We shall always need the specialists, but we need also the clear vision of those whose eyes are not blinded by the dust of investigation. Written for all men, the Gospels can only be understood through the labours of literary critics, scientists, and historians, and not least by the observations of plain men who come without prejudice to the reading of these incomparable works of faith and religious genius.

VINCENT TAYLOR.

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*One Lord, One Faith.* VERNON JOHNSON. (Sheed & Ward.)

*Catechism of Christian Doctrine—Approved.* (Burns, Oates & Washbourne.)

THE main purpose of this article is to call attention to the significance of the above recent publications. When in ordinary religious society, to-day, one speaks of the ‘menace of Rome,’ the usual response is a thought, if not a hint, that bigotry is out of date, and controversy undesirable ; that Kensitism is doing harm, and the Gospel needs no defence—only its ‘proclamation’ is needed for all the purposes of Christ’s Kingdom. How foolish as well as false is such an attitude, any one who will honestly face the facts can soon see. But what with the crush of business and the rush for pleasure, there seems too often to be room for little more than mental and spiritual content with superficialities. In regard, for instance, to the tremendous significance of Rome’s modern recrudescence, an invaluable and final work like that of Dr. Cadoux, gets not one tenth of the attention it merits, by reason of its comprehensiveness and meticulously accurate references. The average reader is frightened away by its very excellences. Here, on this vast and pressing theme, comes the value of the first two books on the above list, which, in brief but lucid and reliable summary, set forth the truth that was never more needed than now. If only all the preachers in the Free Churches,

and the young people whom they influence, could be induced to study carefully what Mr. Poynter and Mr. Pyke here put before them—and then could get access to the issues of Messrs. Belloc, Barry, Knox, and Johnson—they would see indeed the need, as well as value, of the careful pages which must have cost Dr. Cadoux years of closest study. His one blemish in continually confusing ‘Catholicism’ with Romanism—referring to the latter as the former, and so conceding a claim which is as false as it is bigoted—must be overlooked, for the sake of the surpassing value of his twenty-eight chapters. But the attraction and advantage of the two books from the Epworth Press, are their combination of brevity with lucidity and reliability. Mr. Poynter’s volume has the special merit of being the deliberate judgement of one who, from his own experiences, knows Romanism most intimately. Whilst Mr. Pyke gives his readers valuable help in notes and queries at the end of each chapter. Here, however, whilst earnestly commanding the latter, we concern ourselves mostly with the former, as being a timely, unique, and impressive statement of those facts and principles which do assuredly constitute the ‘menace of Rome’ for every modern lover of truth and liberty.

In the announcements of Mr. Poynter’s work, it is said to be ‘absolutely free from bitterness’—which is undoubtedly true; and to some extent good. But it is not good enough for all Christian purposes. Every student of the Greek Testament knows the strength of the Apostle’s term when he wrote to the Romans—‘Abhor that which is evil.’ ‘Hate violently and loathe utterly’—say Liddell and Scott thereupon. Can the words of Jesus in Matt. xxiii. be pronounced ‘absolutely free’ from such ‘bitterness’? At all events it remains true that he who cannot hate evil, cannot love good as he should do. Mr. Poynter’s mildness of objection may be approved as being a reminiscence of some of his old friends; but his words are sometimes scarcely strong enough,

in view of the facts which he himself makes so clear, so impressive, so repulsive. Says he :

' No one will deny the great and in many ways noble part which the Roman Church has taken—is taking—in the world.'

No. But such an estimate needs serious qualification. If the moral excellence and spiritual devotion of many Romanists are taken at their best and utmost, they are most surely equalled, if not surpassed, by similar devotion and nobility on the part of all those Protestant Churches which Rome never ceases to scorn and denounce. Is such denunciation part of Rome's ' noble part in the world '? It is, moreover, undeniable that Rome's distinctive doctrines are responsible for all those other characteristics which are farthest from Christ's spirit, and tend most to the misleading, suffering, and loss, of non-Romanist fellow citizens. Mr. Poynter's calm and weighty pages supply unmistakable evidence of this. As to past history, Mr. Lecky's terrible indictment remains unshakable, as quoted by him<sup>1</sup>:

' That the Church of Rome has shed more innocent blood than any other institution that has ever existed among mankind, will be questioned by no one who has a competent knowledge of history. The memorials, indeed, of many of her persecutions are now so scanty, that it is impossible to form a complete conception of the multitude of her victims, and it is quite certain that no powers of imagination can adequately realize their sufferings.'

Has Rome ever expressed anything like penitence, for that ' noble part in the world '? Do any of the above Romish authors express any sense of shame at the gruesome memory ? Is there any present-day assurance that, like Protestantism, it has utterly and for ever abjured the thought of persecution for religion ? No. None of these things. Let any

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<sup>1</sup> p. 48.

open-minded reader compare the verbal sophistries of 'Father' Ronald Knox, in Chapter xviii. of his book, with Chapter xxv. in Dr. Cadoux. He will then be able to appreciate Mr. Poynter's reminder that still and always

'Romanism regards every baptized person—no matter how or by whom—as subject to Roman canon law, and claims a right to compel such persons to obey that law, even though they may not wish to do so.'

So when, in the shuffling attempts of Romish writers to-day to escape the just odium of such principles, we are told that 'the Roman Church allows toleration of various religions, when they have formally established themselves and taken root'—and that 'no man should be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith,' Mr. Poynter exposes the mendacity of such talk by asking<sup>1</sup>:

'What does that mean? True, a man cannot be made to believe if he won't!—but he can be treated as a criminal and punished. . . . The truth is, again, that the Roman Church simply says that the exercise or abstinence from the use of compulsion, is a matter for her decision.'

The plain truth is, that the more Rome's distinctive doctrines, with their inevitable results, are scrutinized, the more manifest becomes the necessity of an attitude on the part of every Protestant who deserves the name, if not of 'bitterness,' at all events of something corresponding with that of Christ Himself, and the Apostles, when confronted with downright wrong. For want of that, many in these days are being cajoled by sacerdotal sophistries, and go to swell the '12,000 yearly converts' of whom the Romish hierarchy so blatantly boasts.

To reply in detail to the four Romish productions specified above, would be indeed quite useless. For those who most

<sup>1</sup> p. 180.

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need such an appeal would never look at them. Poor things, they cannot. The 'Index' has to be reckoned with. That is, as Mr. Poynter truly puts it,<sup>1</sup>

'In short any book criticizing Rome, or the Roman doctrine or priesthood must not be read. To enforce the Index, the policy of secret denunciation is encouraged: "All Catholics and especially those who excel in learning, are expected to denounce bad and dangerous books to their bishop or to the Apostolic See."'

So there is not much prospect of Mr. Poynter's protest being considered by his old friends. But Protestant teachers, at all events, ought to know something of what is happening. Of the four Romish apologies specified above, they should estimate the vehemence of Mr. Hilaire Belloc—who describes Protestant objections to Rome as 'brawling against the faith'—which is rightly characterized by Mr. Poynter as 'merely insolent,' and applies to his whole attitude. The tone of Dr. Barry's volume, from beginning to end of his beautifully printed pages, is one of sheer ecclesiastical conceit, incredible if it were not actually before one's eyes. The 'faithful' will wallow in it.

The verbal juggling combined with the unlimited audacity of 'Father' Knox, must also be studied to be believed. It culminates in his unblushing avowal that<sup>2</sup>:

'The fact of membership in any other religious body than ours, will not contribute to any man's welfare in eternity. Those who do not belong to our Church, may just as well belong to no religious body at all.'

Then is everybody outside the Romish sect to perish eternally? No; there is just a chance that a fairly good man, /say as good as a Quaker, may be saved—but *only*

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<sup>1</sup> p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> p. 288.

because 'he is a Roman Catholic without knowing it.' How to characterize truly such sacerdotal conceit without 'bitterness,' is indeed a verbal problem. The Apostle who wrote most about love, said, concerning one type of character, 'he is a liar.' Is that bitter? What would he say in such a case as the above?

Poor Father Vernon creates only pity for a mind so childish intellectually as his 'conversion' displays. He has been sufficiently answered by two well-read Anglo-Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

That these estimates are only too true, may be seen by any open-minded reader of the books referred to. They point emphatically to the need and value of Mr. Poynter's plain and thoroughly authenticated statements, which reveal on every page, such intimate acquaintance with Rome's doctrines and methods as could only come from some one who had really lived and laboured 'inside the Roman Church.' With such a 'handy' volume as this, at such easy price, there is no excuse for those who in these days 'turn away from the truth and turn aside to fables' and falsities.

The subject matter of these 160 pages is set forth under six heads; with two important Appendices, entitled 'Sacraments' and 'Canon Law.' A brief note on these chapters may be useful.

(1) 'The growth and claims of the Roman Church.' These opening pages throw much needed light on the sublime audacity of the falsity in the 'Catechism' for Romish children.'

'Why is the Bishop of Rome the head of the Church?

'The Bishop of Rome is the head of the Church because he is the successor of St. Peter, whom Christ appointed to be the head of the Church.'

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<sup>1</sup> *One God and Father of All* by E. Milner White, M.A., Dean of King's College, Cambridge and; W. L. Knox, M.A., Warden of the Oratory House, Cambridge.

\* *Inside the Roman Church*, pp. 15, 16.

For this assertion, of course, Matt. xvi. 18, 19, are quoted.  
And then :

' Is the Pope the Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians ?'

' The Pope is the Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians, because Christ made St. Peter the Shepherd of the whole flock, when He said " Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." '

Mr. Poynter rightly dismisses such unwarrantable claims with a few words :

' Thus we conclude : (i) There is no New Testament proof of any supremacy of Peter ; (ii.) Even if Peter had a (temporary and personal) pre-eminence, there is no New Testament evidence at all that it was to go to any successors at Rome, or anywhere else.'<sup>1</sup>

In words as trenchant as calm, he shows how the Papal supremacy grew out of circumstances—aided by human ambitions—and points out how at the first important and greatest of the Councils, that of Nicea in A.D. 325, no Pope presided ; and shows how Rome's vaunted *semper eadem* principle, in the words of Abbot Chapman,

' The Church is a living witness to a revelation which is final, from which nothing can be taken away, and to which nothing can be added,'

is flatly contradicted by Rome's own procedures ; which Cardinal Newman sought to justify under the shuffle of ' development.' The application of this self-contradiction to Transubstantiation, the Immaculate Conception, and Papal infallibility, is forcibly demonstrated. Thus :

' These conclusions seem inevitable ; (i.) That the Papal power is a natural, largely political, and very gravely faulty, development ; and that its special assertions of divine right are mistaken ; (ii.) That Papal infallibility rests on bad logic, and is disproved by facts ; (iii.) That

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<sup>1</sup> p. 20.

the whole process of Roman Catholic doctrinal development is a self-contradiction ; it says Revelation cannot be added to—and yet continually adds to it.'

In Chapter ii. the author shows how the 'Temporal power of the Popes,' not only applies to the possession of a small sovereignty in Italy, but includes the general claim of the Papacy to be independent of and superior to all secular governments, and to have a right of intervention whenever deemed necessary. A plain example of such intervention is supplied by the Press of this week. The following is just to hand.

'The Archbishop of Malta and the Bishop of Gozo, in a joint pastoral letter on the eve of the political election, exhort the faithful as a solemn duty, to exercise their vote in defence of (the Romish) religion ; and forbid electors to vote for Lord Strickland, Prime Minister, and candidates who are his political supporters, under pain that such an action will be regarded as a grave sin.—Some priests reading this pastoral letter from their churches this morning, went so far as to threaten Churchmen who disobeyed Episcopal instructions, with the curse of God on themselves and their families.'

A fair illustration of the perpetual 'menace of Rome.' The instructed Protestant will either smile with pity, or scowl with scorn at such ecclesiastical impudence. But the ignorant Maltese Romanists will shiver with terror at such episcopal threats, and like sheep will meekly go the way they are driven. In plain English, were it not for the restraining might of Protestant law, this country would be still at the mercy of the sacerdotal tyranny which in days gone by justified Mr. Lecky's indictment already quoted.

In Chapter iii. Mr. Poynter gives an impressive survey of 'The Roman Catholic Church throughout the World'—with special reference to European countries ; and in

Chapter iv., deals with ‘The Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain.’ This summary ought to be separately published and circulated by the thousand, for the enlightenment of all those easy-going Protestants who have no knowledge or thought whatever, concerning the definite and passionate plans of Rome to bring this country under the heel of the Papacy. Amidst other valuable information, Mr. Poynter specifies some half-dozen distinct organizations which have this purpose solely and ceaselessly in view. All goes to show that whilst Protestantism is asleep in its false sense of security, or under the pious delusion that truth needs no defence—which is emphatically contradicted throughout the New Testament—Rome is not only wide awake, but ceaselessly working, with an unparalleled admixture of costly effort, vast wealth, tireless energy, and acutest watchfulness, all under most skilful guidance. Is it any wonder that Romanism grows? Is there in Protestantism anything approaching such a modern fulfilment of Paul’s exhortation—‘Stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong?’ Or the definite directions embodied in 1 Peter iii. 15? Truly the boast of Dr. Barry—‘Our clergy are now eightfold as many as they were sixty years ago,’ is intelligible. One can scarcely wonder that his exultation should move him to a prophetic frenzy—

‘The second Christian Millennium will be accomplished in one generation from to-day. A splendid Catholic Renaissance will arrive—the old enemies of Papal Rome are gone, or going fast.’

The intelligent Protestant is not alarmed at such a bogey; but it serves well to illustrate the confident zeal of the Romish hierarchy, which so many in the Free Churches are content to despise or ignore.

Chapter v. on ‘Roman Catholic Literature,’ and vi., ‘Summary and Conclusions’ do not here admit of describing, let alone illustrating; but they merit the reader’s closest

attention. The statement of the form to be adopted, and avowal to be made, when 'the priest is satisfied that a new convert is ready to be received into the Church' ought to be made known throughout the religious world, for its amazing and revolting departure from the Christ and the Gospel of the New Testament.

What then remains to be felt and said in face of these facts and principles, from the standpoint of Christian truth? Three queries call aloud for a much fuller answer than is here possible. Why should Protestants trouble at all—why not let Rome alone, and avoid all 'controversy'? What is actually the present situation as to Rome's position and threatening? What ought correspondingly to be the truly Christian and Protestant response? In spite of all that has been written on these themes, there is still room for much more to be both printed and spoken.

As for the first, one might just as well ask, why did not Christ let the Scribes and Pharisees alone? or Paul the early Christian Judaizers? It should surely be enough, in the present case, to make the following allegations—and be ready to substantiate them, at any cost of care and pains.<sup>1</sup>

The whole Romish system misrepresents alike, the character of God, the mind of Christ, the meaning of the Gospel, and the conception of the Church, as these are given in the New Testament. It makes preposterous claims, based on false interpretations of Christ's words. Its worship is doubly misleading, in that it rests upon the utter falsity of Transubstantiation, and requires a 'priest' to make it valid, whilst the whole notion of an official priesthood is absolutely unChristian and contrary to both Gospels and Epistles. On these false foundations it has long established, and still

<sup>1</sup> For the truth's sake, I will venture to add that if even the suggestion to study the works of Messrs. Poynter and Pyke should seem to some too much to ask of our young people—who yet specially need to know the truth—and others, my own small booklets on *Protestantism Justified* and *True Catholicism*, will quite serve to supply this need. (Epworth Press.)

maintains, a spiritual tyranny which never ceases its endeavour to rule, or undermine, the State—its present demand is that it should be made possible for this determinedly Protestant country, to have again a Romish King! In a word, it claims to dominate every one, and everything, and bring all human life into ‘ submission ’ (its own slogan) to the Pope of Rome. The whole system is so monstrous in its baseless arrogance, and so manifestly contrary to the spirit and purpose of Christ and the Apostles, that its continuance, and its recrudescence after the exposure of the Reformation, together with its present position and threatening, represent a veritable miracle of evil.

But if so, one may ask, how ever is its modern development to be explained ? The answer is perfectly plain, as plain as was, in the first three or four centuries, the rise of Romish supremacy. Its appeal to human nature is manifest and unmeasured. In relieving men of the need to think for themselves ; in satisfying them with the symbolic and the spectacular ; in playing upon the religious instinct which is ever ready to tremble superstitiously before sufficient assumption of authority ; in asking of the many a minimum of service, and of the few a maximum ; in creating, like Communism, an impregnable solidarity amongst multitudes who neither know nor care what they believe, so long as ‘ the Church ’ says so ; in organizing the world’s most complex and complete system of government, under the most astute direction, all knit together in abject submission to one Head, served to the utmost by a host of willing slaves—is not all this, and what might truthfully be added, enough to explain what the Protestantism which stands for Christ’s truth has now, even more than of yore, to face ?

True, one gets small thanks, even amid the Free Churches, for begging attention to such a Romish menace. The mob that murdered Kensit may not reach him ; but the verbal blows of those whom he seeks to save, will be hard to bear. His reply can only be the old ‘ *feri sed audi* ’—‘ strike if you

like, but listen.' The ominous facts remain. The four 'affirmative principles of the Free Churches,' as enunciated by Dr. Sharp at Nottingham, are being trodden underfoot, in the name of an unChristian hierarchy, and comparatively few are troubled in 'evangelical' circles. Protestants still go on to speak and write about 'Catholics,' when unmistakably Romanists are meant—as if it made no difference (!) For fear of provoking 'controversy,' definite doctrinal teaching is left out of Protestant pulpits—as it certainly is not in those of Rome—and little interest is taken in the 'fight' for fair treatment in regard to the education of our children against the system which still bars 12,000 headships of voluntary schools against Free Church members. Whilst in the words of Dr. J. D. Jones—who is far enough from bigotry—under the guidance of Sir Chas. Trevelyan, it is

'proposed to give a further endowment to Anglican and Roman Schools, and so help to perpetuate that dual system which makes educational efficiency so difficult.'

It will not be the fault of Rome if 'those sectarian tests which so unfairly load the dice against the Free Church teachers,' are removed. Nor will it be Mr. Poynter's fault, any more than Dr. Cadoux's, if, in all other respects, the pitting of Romanism against Christianity is left by careless Protestants to win its way, until Dr. Barry's predictions are fulfilled.

FRANK BALLARD.

## DANIEL WEBSTER: THE GREATEST OF AMERICAN ORATORS

**O**NE of the striking features of the history of the United States is the element of unexpectedness in the careers of so many of its politicians. The lives of some of the greatest Americans have been marked in an extraordinary degree by vicissitudes and surprises and disappointments, by twists and turnings and ups and downs. The great prize of American public life is the Presidency, and the page of history shows the road to that shining eminence strewn by aspirants whose attainment of the Capitol seemed, at some period of their careers, quite certain, and who yet never reached their goal. Some, whose outstanding abilities and characters seemed to be carrying them steadily to the White House, by some unforeseen occurrence or piece of bad luck, some political backwash or cross-current, found it hopelessly out of their reach. Others, who seemed destined for mediocrity or even obscurity, soared over the heads of men far greater than themselves, and secured the prize. We seldom find a statesman progressing steadily towards the Presidency, as a Peel and a Russell, a Palmerston and a Gladstone and a Disraeli, progressed towards the British Premiership.

Perhaps there is no better instance of the unexpectedness that has been referred to than the respective destinies of Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. For nearly twenty-five years they were rivals in the same State of Illinois. Douglas was by far the more brilliant and showy of the two. He had a polish and personal charm and eloquence that Lincoln completely lacked. During a great part of this rivalry, any one judging from the probabilities would have said that Douglas would have the greater destiny. Lincoln himself could not sleep for thinking of the triumphs of Douglas, as Themistocles could not sleep for thinking of the

successes of Miltiades. In 1856, Lincoln said, 'With me the race of ambition has been a failure ; with him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation, and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached.' Yet Lincoln won the race in the end. When he delivered his inaugural address on the day he became President he looked round for somewhere to lay his hat. Douglas, who was standing near, took the hat from his old rival and held it humbly in the background while the President addressed the multitude.

One of the most outstanding of American politicians whose career went awry and ended in gloom and disappointment was Daniel Webster. He was the greatest of all American orators, and his speech known as the Reply to Haynes, is the greatest of American orations. Some of his admirers have indulged in hyperbolical phrases. John Adams, the second President of the Republic, flattered by an allusion of Webster, wrote to him, 'Mr. Burke is no longer entitled to the praise—the most consummate orator of modern times.' This was, of course, an exaggeration. Burke rose to heights which Webster never reached, and never could reach. But an orator might not be the equal of Burke and yet hold a high place among the eloquent. Webster certainly ranks among the great orators of the world.

Webster was born in January 1782, on the frontier of New Hampshire. Once, when describing how his father built his first house, a log cabin, amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, he stated that 'when the smoke first rose from his rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada.' After some years at school, he was enabled, by the self-denial of his family, to go to Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, where he received a good education. Deciding to become a lawyer, he applied himself to the work of preparation with assiduous perseverance, and in 1805 was admitted to the Bar, where he

quickly acquired a footing. In 1813 he entered the thirteenth Congress of the United States, and made a maiden speech so good that Chief Justice Marshall wrote to Mr. Justice Story some time after, prophesying that Webster would become 'one of the very first statesmen in America, and perhaps the very first.' In March 1817, with the termination of the fourteenth Congress, Webster's political service ceased for the time being. His work at the Bar, however, gave him interest and occupation, and at the same time kept him before the eyes of the public. In December 1823 he again entered Congress, bringing with him this time a great reputation as an orator and advocate. In June 1827 he was elected a Senator for Massachusetts.

At the beginning of 1830, Webster attained the highest distinction of his life. At that time the feeling between the northern and southern States was beginning to lack cordiality, and was tending to unfriendliness. The doctrine of nullification was beginning to attract attention. The nullifiers maintained that each individual State had the right to say whether a law of the Federal Union was unconstitutional or not, and had authority to declare it invalid. The dissenting States, it was alleged, could prevent the execution of the objectionable law within its limit, and, in the last resort, withdraw from the Union. The theories of the nullifiers were distasteful to New England, and it was in voicing the feelings of the opponents of nullification that Webster got the opportunity of his life.

In September 1829, Senator Foote had introduced a harmless resolution making inquiry respecting the sales and surveys of the western lands. In the debate which ensued, Senator Haynes, of South Carolina, attacked the New England States and accused them of hostility to the States in the West. Webster replied in an able and effective speech in which he shattered the arguments of Haynes. The latter, however, returned to the charge, and, after again attacking the New England States, gave a full exposition of the doctrine

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of nullification, of which he was a supporter. In his answer, opposing the contention of Haynes, Webster, on January 26, 1830, made the greatest speech ever made in America. In this speech Webster set forth the national conception of the State, not as it was originally, but as it had become in his time. In the beginning the constitution had undoubtedly been regarded as a confederation, from which the States had a right to withdraw, but by 1830 it had come to be regarded as a good deal more. It was the charter of a national Government, and had converted a mere confederacy into a nation. Webster adopted this larger and nobler view of the Union of the American States, and laid down the principles which broadened and deepened until, thirty years afterwards, they were sufficiently strong to keep the nation together when the South endeavoured to break away. He took the popular conception and gave it life and form. He proclaimed that the United States was a nation, and a union that was indivisible. He appeals to national as against State loyalty.

To give any idea of the speech, or to set forth its merits adequately, is impossible. It must be read if its power and eloquence are to be realized. Webster united logical vigilance and convincing argument with bursts of feeling, of imagery, of invective, of irony, of sarcasm, with appeals to passion, memory, interest, feeling. The enormous excitement created by the speech may still be gathered from March's *Reminiscences of Congress* and similar books. 'It has been my fortune,' said Everett, 'to hear some of the ablest speeches of the greatest living orators on both sides of the water, but I must confess I never heard anything which so completely realized my conception of what Demosthenes was when he delivered the oration for the Crown.' Webster meant the speech to become a popular classic, and it did so. Lord Charnwood states that Lincoln found it as inspiring a political treatise as many English have discovered in the speeches and writings of Burke. 'The oration,' writes President Wilson, 'sent a thrill through all the East and North which was

unmistakably a thrill of triumph. Men were glad because of what he had said. He had touched the national self-consciousness, awakened it, and pleased it with a morning vision of its great tasks and certain destiny.' The speech at once brought Webster within the circle of Presidential candidates, 'and,' says his biographer, Lodge, 'from that moment he was never free from the gnawing, haunting ambition to win the grand prize of American public life.'

At the end of 1832, South Carolina, which strongly objected to some of the revenue laws of the United States, gave practical effect to its approval of nullification. It passed in convention an ordinance nullifying the objectionable revenue laws, and its legislature enacted laws to carry out the ordinance. This defiance of the Government was answered by the Force Bill, which gave the President power to enforce the law by means of the army and navy. Webster supported the President and the Force Bill. The quarrel was ultimately settled by the passing of a compromise tariff bill which satisfied South Carolina.

In the summer of 1833, Webster seemed to himself to be coming within reach of the Presidency. The fever burnt strongly within him, and he deeply desired the supreme office. He made a tour of the western States, and was hailed everywhere with enthusiasm as the great defender of the constitution. The legislature of Massachusetts nominated him as a candidate for the Presidency, but in the end the movement came to nothing. The truth seems to have been that, notwithstanding the great position which Webster attained in American politics, he never had any real chance of reaching the White House. His biographer, Lodge, comments on his hopes in 1833 :

As it was then, so it had been at the previous election, and so it was to continue to be at the end of every Presidential term. There never was a moment when Mr. Webster had any real prospect of attaining to the Presidency. Unfortunately, he never could realize this. He would have been more than human, perhaps, if he had done

so. The tempting bait hung always before his eyes. The prize seemed to be always just coming within his reach, and was really never near it. But the longing had entered his soul. He could not rid himself of the idea of this final culmination to his success; and it warped his feelings and actions, injured his career, and embittered his last years.

In 1829, President Jackson adopted a reckless policy of hostility to the Bank of the United States. To this policy Webster offered a strenuous and determined opposition. He was especially competent to deal with financial and economic questions. He had studied economics in the latest English works, and, as his biographer, Lodge, says, he had a knowledge and grasp of the principles and intricacies of public finance unequalled in American history except by Hamilton. He resisted the policy of Jackson in a series of speeches which united a thorough knowledge of the subject with all the resources of debate and all the arts of the highest eloquence. Although Jackson was never divided from Webster by the bitter hatred and enmity which divided him from Clay and Calhoun, he was by nature antipathetic to Webster. The two men were like oil and water, and could never combine. The conservative Webster could have no sympathy with one whom Lodge called 'a rude soldier, unlettered, intractable, arbitrary, with a violent temper and a most despotic will,' indulging in 'mad gyrations of personal government' which he called his policy. In 1837, with his eye on the Presidential chair, Webster again made an extended tour through the West, where he was received, as before, with the greatest admiration and enthusiasm.

In 1839, Webster visited England, where he was cordially received. His observations on what he saw are not without interest. One comment is perhaps worth quoting. 'In England the rule of politeness is to be quiet, act naturally, take no airs, and make no bustle. . . . This perfect politeness has, of course, cost a good deal of drill. Fuss and fidgets can be subdued only by strict discipline.' He heard

Gladstone speak, and he met Dickens, Sydney Smith, Moore, and Carlyle. Carlyle gave to Emerson an account of the impression made upon him by the American statesman. He wrote :

Not many days ago I saw at breakfast the noblest of your notabilities, Daniel Webster. He is a magnificent specimen. You might say to all the world, 'This is our Yankee Englishman ; such limbs we make in Yankee land !' As a logic fencer or Parliamentary Hercules, one would be inclined to back him at first sight against all the extant world. The tanned complexion, that amorphous craglike face ; the dull black eyes under the precipice of brows, like dull anthracite furnaces, needing only to be *blown* ; the mastiff mouth accurately closed ; I have not traced so much of silent Berserker rage that I remember in any man. 'I guess I should not like to be your nigger.' Webster is not loquacious, but he is pertinent, conclusive ; a dignified, perfectly bred man, though not English in breeding ; a man worthy of the best reception among us, and meeting such, I understand.

While absent in London, Webster had another disappointment with regard to the Presidency. His name, when put forward, called forth no response, and General Harrison obtained the nomination. In February 1841 he resigned his seat in the Senate, and in March 1841 he became Secretary of State in General Harrison's administration. After a month of office, Harrison died, and was succeeded by Tyler, who retained Webster in office. There were important and serious differences outstanding with England, which, if handled injudiciously, might have led even to war. Webster succeeded in settling them with an ability, tact, and dexterity which cannot but exact admiration. In March 1843 he resigned the post of Secretary of State, and in March 1845 he again entered the Senate. In 1848, General Taylor, whose successes in the war with Mexico made him popular, was nominated for the Presidency. Many of Webster's personal and political friends supported Taylor ; and Webster, who had eagerly desired the nomination, was surprised and grieved, and bitterly resented this action. But his friends knew what

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Webster never realized—the utter hopelessness of his chances of the Presidency.

In 1850, Webster again became Secretary of State, this time under President Fillmore, who succeeded Taylor in July. Preparations were being made for the next Presidential election, and a last desperate effort was again made to obtain the nomination for Webster. An organized movement to further his candidature was promoted by his friends, which awakened all his hopes. Although he had in reality no chance whatever, he himself regarded the great prize as at last surely within his grasp. The nomination went to General Scott, to the deep disappointment and chagrin of Webster. He refused to give his adhesion to Scott's nomination, and advised his friends to vote for Franklin Pierce, the candidate of the opposing Party. The keen disappointment and final breakdown of the hopes which he had cherished ever since the great speech against Haynes preyed upon his mind. He had longed so eagerly for the prize, and had sacrificed so much for it. The depression and the melancholy which follow on hope deferred facilitated the inroads of disease, and in October 1852 he died. At the end his son repeated to him some words of Gray's *Elegy* to which he responded with a smile. Earlier in the year he had summed up his career to Professor Silliman : 'I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain, and politics are utterly vain.'

The age of Webster was one of the heroic periods of American history, and he was one of the greatest men of his age. He was a great orator, a splendid advocate, and an outstanding statesman and economist. He was often compared with the two other great contemporary intellects, Clay and Calhoun, but the consensus of opinion seems to indicate that Webster was the greatest in intellectual power. 'Webster's intellect,' said Horace Greeley, 'is the greatest emanation from the Almighty Mind now embodied.' But, while admitting his genius, his admirers were compelled to acknowledge that he was lacking in morale and strength

of character. He was deficient in the moral energy and indomitable will that carried a man like Jackson, so greatly his inferior, so far beyond him. He was lax in money matters, and his standards of conduct were low. He was always in debt, and died insolvent. He relied on subscriptions among his friends and other shabby devices to pay his debts. Discreditable stories were told of fees taken and not earned. It has been put forward that his habit of debt and borrowing was due to early poverty, but this is, of course, no answer to the charge. His carelessness in financial matters was a natural flaw in a great character.

Webster had the vigour, richness, and copious strength of the born orator. His great gifts, although much improved by cultivation, were conferred on him by nature. No speaker was ever listened to with the eagerness which Webster excited. He was master of a style which was as forcible as it was simple and severe. He aimed at simplicity and purity of diction, preferring Anglo-Saxon words and avoiding Latin derivatives. He had a rapid apprehension, and saw quickly the vital point of a question. He was never for a moment deprived of his self-possession by any amount of violence or opposition. He had what Bacon ascribed to James the First—‘a composition of understanding admirable, being able to compass and comprehend the greatest matters, and nevertheless to touch and apprehend the least.’ He was not, however, original in thought, like the great Burke. He had an historic but not a poetic or creative imagination. Moreover, his eloquence was immensely enhanced by his striking looks and presence. Whenever he entered a room he drew all eyes to himself and hushed the murmur of conversation. He was tall, with a dark skin, a dignified bearing, and an imposing mien. He had very remarkable deep-set and searching eyes, and was known in his youth in Freyburg as ‘All Eyes.’ When he began to be roused, his eyes were said to glow like the deep light of a forge fire. His voice was low and musical in conversation, but

could ring out like a clarion in the excitement of debate, and sink to deep notes with the solemn richness of organ tones. 'There is no man in all history who came into the world so equipped physically for speech,' says Lodge. 'The mere look of the man and the sound of his voice made all who saw and heard him feel that he must be the embodiment of wisdom, dignity, and strength.'

He brought to the assistance of his oratory the resources of a highly cultivated and educated mind. He was not a scholar in the true sense of the word, nor deeply learned, but he read much, and, with his marvellous power of rapid acquisition and his iron memory, he was able to adorn his speeches with fitting historical and literary allusions. He was very familiar with the Scriptures, and greatly admired the splendour of Isaiah and Job. His knowledge of the classics was unusual in American public men, although he complained of the difficulty of retaining his familiarity with them. His favourite Latin author was Sallust. He admired Pope, and learnt *The Essay on Man* by heart in his youth. He also admired Scott—unlike Jefferson, who could not bear Scott's novels. Webster was very familiar with the works of the Great Magician, and often quoted him. One of his favourite passages was from the beginning of *The Lady of the Lake*:

The Stag at eve had drunk his fill  
Where danced the moon on Monan's rill.

'I have been to the very spot,' said Webster, 'where this antlered monarch took his start that day, and so naturally and vividly had the poet impressed the scene and its incidents upon me that I should hardly have felt a deeper conviction of truth at Marathon or Salamis.' Another favourite passage was in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*:

The stag-hounds, weary with the chase,  
Lay stretch'd upon the rushy floor,  
And urged, in dreams, the forest race,  
From Teviot-stone to Eskdale-moor.

Even Scotland, however, which he believed to be his ancestral country, was, in his opinion, inferior in romantic interest to his birth-state. 'New Hampshire,' he said, needs but a Scott to outshine Scotland. There is more romance in the foray of the Indians than in a creagh of the Gael, and richer materials for the novelist in the adventures of Lovewell or Stark than in any of the exploits of the Black Douglas.'

One of his best speeches was that delivered in 1826 on Adams and Jefferson, the second and third Presidents of the United States, who both died on the same day. It contains the famous imaginary speech of Adams, the best-known and most hackneyed passage in American oratory. 'Sink or swim,' it began, 'live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote,' the vote being for separation from Great Britain. In the same speech there is a passage on eloquence which is well worth quoting :

Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labour and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it—they cannot reach it. It comes, if it comes at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. . . . The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence ; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence ; it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

The fine eloquence which marks these and other speeches was not attained without that pains and labour which are necessary to all oratory that is to last. 'My style was not formed without great care and earnest study of the best authors,' he told Charles Lanmans. 'I have laboured hard

upon it, for I early felt the importance of expression to thought. I have re-written sentence after sentence, and pondered long upon each alteration. For, depend upon it, it is with our thoughts as with our persons—their intrinsic value is mostly undervalued, unless outwardly expressed in an attractive garb.' In conversation with Professor Felton he related how he had studied Addison, in particular, with great care, and how he had avoided hard words, trying to make his language as simple and intelligible as possible. He told him also how his style had been criticized for *emptiness* in early life, and how he had laboured to overcome that fault.

In later years Webster was surrounded by flattery, which warped and spoiled his nature. Adulation, added to the frustrated ambition for the Presidency, poisoned both mind and heart. He became dictatorial and overbearing, and quarrelled with old friends. He was never popular in the true sense of the word, and never touched the heart of the people. His fellow-citizens were proud of him and admired him, but they never loved him as they loved Clay. The feeling for Clay came from the heart, that for Webster from the head. While Webster was dignified and impressive, his manner was cold and sometimes ungracious. This fault made many enemies, and helps to explain why he was not loved. Dyer, a gossipy writer of his time, says that members of Congress would introduce their constituents, anxious to meet the great men of their country, to Calhoun and Clay and Webster. The bearing of the two former was always urbane and winning in the highest degree. Clay in particular would give the stranger the impression that it gave him a peculiar and personal pleasure to make his acquaintance. Webster, on the other hand, says Dyer, evidently felt such introductions to be a bore, and seldom took the trouble to simulate interest. Usually his manner on such occasions was freezingly indifferent, and he seemed to be preoccupied, and unable to bring his mind to bear on the person presented to

him. Sometimes he did not even look at the person introduced, but mechanically extended his hand and permitted the stranger to shake it, if he had the courage to do so. 'I have seen,' says Dyer, 'members of Congress turn crimson with indignation at Webster's ungracious reception of their constituents.'

The vital principles which inspired Webster's oratory and his political career were love of country, a sense of the grandeur of American nationality, fidelity to the constitution as the bulwark of nationality, and a conviction of the necessity and nobility of the union of the States. He preached these principles steadily through his career. He began as a strong opponent of slavery, and spoke with vigorous condemnation in his early speeches. He mourned that the land was not free from the contamination of the odious and abominable slave-trade :

It is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer. I hear the sound of the hammer, and see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labour in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England. . . . What is it to the victim of this oppression, when he is brought to its shores, and looks forth upon it, for the first time, loaded with chains, and bleeding with stripes? What is it to him but a widespread prospect of suffering, anguish, and death?

In later life he modified his attitude. His intense desire to preserve the Union made him regard slavery as of no consequence in comparison with the preservation of that Union. If the States held together, he thought, time and the patriotic good sense of the people would take care of everything else. It must be remembered that this was the attitude even of Lincoln at one time. In answer to Horace Greeley's open letter, addressed to him in August 1862, he declared, 'My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save

or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it ; if I could save it by freeing the slaves, I would do it ; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.'

Webster was ambitious and longed to leave a name in the page of history. In *Old Mortality*, Claverhouse, speaking of military glory, exclaims, ' It is the memory which the soldier leaves behind, like the long train of light that follows the sunken sun—that is all which is worth caring for, which distinguishes the death of the brave or the ignoble.' Webster too, had the same longing for glory, although of another kind. Plumer tells how he and Webster were walking together one moonlight evening in the grounds around the Capitol at Washington, when Webster broke into the most passionate aspirations after glory. Without it, he said, life was not worth possessing. The petty struggles of the day were without interest for him, except as they might furnish the opportunity of saying or doing something which would be remembered in aftertime. Observing that Plumer smiled at his enthusiasm, he smiled too, and said, ' You laugh at me, Plumer. Your quiet way of looking at things may be the best, after all ; but I have sometimes such glorious dreams, and sometimes, too, I half believe that they will one day wake into glorious realities.'

Webster, while intensely devoted to his native land, had in his heart a feeling of sincere attachment to Great Britain. He had none of the bitterness of men like President Jackson, in whose eyes America was always certainly right and Great Britain as certainly always wrong. He recognized what the United States owed to the Motherland, and expressed that indebtedness in cordial terms. This account of the great orator may be fittingly concluded with a passage, uttered in 1852, that has a strange meaning in view of the events of 1918 :

May these countries [Great Britain and the United States] be for ever friendly rivals. May their power and greatness, sustaining

themselves, be always directed to the promotion of the peace, the prosperity, the enlightenment, and the liberty of mankind ; and if it be their united destiny, in the course of human events, that they be called upon, in the cause of humanity, and in the cause of freedom, to stand against a world in arms, they are of a race and of a blood to meet that crisis without shrinking from danger, and without quailing in the presence of earthly power.

J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.

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### THE COMET

STREAMER sublime, who journey'st toward the sun  
In loneliness from out the depths of space,  
And ever travell'st with increasing pace,  
Until thy goal of greater light is won,  
And, when thy forward toils at last are done,  
Dost move, reluctant, to thy earlier place,  
Then visit Sol anew ; say, dost thou trace  
The course of souls whose life is here begun ?

Not all unhappy was that strain, but, then,  
What of those other members of thy clan  
Who greet the sun from yon immensity,  
And, going, seek not to return ? Give me  
The lot of them who know Earth for a span,  
And pass to Love's infinity again.

A. T. SHEARMAN.

## AUSTRALIAN BLACKS

**A**FTER a long life, a good part of which has been passed amongst primitive races, I have come to the conclusion that there is no race or people which has been more maligned or misjudged than the black men of Australia. To hear people speak of them one would think they were talking of imbeciles, incapable of learning and very little higher than the beasts ; whereas those who know them best are ready enough to testify to their many good qualities, and their capabilities for learning both the good and the bad they pick up from the whites.

In bygone days it was the custom amongst the pioneers to treat the aborigines as wild beasts, to be 'shot at sight.' McKinley and other early explorers declared they shot them 'for practice,' and even later arrivals looked upon them as enemies, to be got rid of because they speared the white men's cattle and sheep ; and this, because the newcomers—by means of a code of morals not understood by the blacks—had invaded their territory and shot their natural food, the wild animals of Australia.

Happily, this terrible state of things is over, but too late to save the blacks of the southern States ; but there are many wild men still to be found in the interior and the north, and they are well worth study for the sake of seeing a primitive society before it is too late, as well as in the faint hopes of being able to preserve a remnant of the poor Stone men if possible. In most places they have been placed in Reserves for their own good, for they cannot be trusted in the towns of the whites ; but here and there they are still at liberty, and, when one comes into contact with the real wild black, he proves to be a most interesting creature.

There are a few places left where they can be studied, such as the Soak at Ooldea, a curious spot in a vast waterless

region where the water comes to the surface in two places; one of these is bitter water, and rises in the midst of a green water-weed which, I believe, grows nowhere else, and grows to five feet in height; and this bitter water is used by the black men for a variety of ailments, for their faith in it is complete; and, indeed, there is probably some curative quality about it, for I have seen the results, which do not seem to be all the result of faith in its powers.

The other water is the Soak itself, where fresh water comes to the surface from far beneath, rising in the sandhills; and this Soak never dries up, coming from some source far below, where there must be plenty of water held in reserve, for wells are sunk all over the plains now, resulting in good water in most cases; and to this Soak the blacks have come for ages, and here, when the wind blows strongly, it uncovers numbers of weapons left there by the blacks of the past, who came here to fashion their rude tools, just as they still do in a few places; for I have seen the rocks in the water in some spots, where black men have sharpened their axes. It is possible at Ooldea to see the wild blacks from the distant ranges coming into contact for the first time with the white men they have heard about but not seen. They come from the Musgrave and Macdonnell Ranges and other remote spots, and when they arrive they have fine, erect figures, and are fearless and bold, glowing with health, and with their black, bare skins shining; but after a month at Ooldea the change is pitiful in the extreme. They have put on the rags shed by the white men, and have begun to get colds and other ailments; they have haunted the drinking-places and become sodden in that short time; and before long they have become ragged, wretched creatures, and taken to fighting and other things which get them into trouble with the authorities. For this reason they have been placed in Reserves in more settled places, and here a white man is put in charge, and some such men and their wives have told me how interesting and lovable the blacks are when one gets to

know them, while the statement that they cannot and will not learn anything is belied by all who have taken the trouble to find out the truth.

One day, when some wild blacks came to the settlement, we thought we would give them a treat, and brought in a fine gramophone. When the tune started the blacks showed extreme terror, and dashed out of the building into the surrounding bush, nor could we get them to come near us again for a while ; when at last they did venture, they appeared armed with nulla-nullas, spears, and shields, and cautiously approached the box. When we suggested opening it, they again showed alarm, fearing the debil-debil inside would escape ; but by degrees their fears were overcome, and they allowed us to show the works, after which they drew near and greatly enjoyed the music and songs they heard.

Mr. Bolam tells an amusing story of a black man to whom he showed a picture-book in which was a picture of a kangaroo chasing a dog. There were other animals in the book, but lions and elephants did not interest the man who had never seen any such ; but with the kangaroo it was different, and he was extremely anxious to find out how the chase ended. He came again a week later and asked to see the book, but when he saw the picture he remarked, ' Mucka [no] catchem yet ; close up week ' ; he had evidently hoped to find the kangaroo had been successful by that time. I remember also being asked by a black man what was the thing in the sky. He was looking at an aeroplane, and he had turned the picture sideways. I explained that it was for ' flying like a bird,' but this he did not believe possible, not having seen any flying-machines yet.

When near the settlement at Barambah, nothing interested me more than to see the blacks at their work or play. I watched the men spearing fish, and observed that when they missed one they raised and lowered their feet in anger, but never made a sound or spoke. I also watched them throwing their boomerangs, and saw one man cut a wing off

a parrot flying overhead when he had thrown his boomerang at the flock ; another kind they keep for throwing sideways, and, these, too, fly in circles and come back to the thrower; but when it comes to the great war boomerangs, these do not seem to return. One day, while I was in the Reserve, a woman was brought in in a terrible state, her husband having cut her about badly with his nulla-nulla. Indeed, it is in the treatment of the *lubras* that the blacks fail most, regarding these as beasts of burden and to be ill used if anything goes wrong. In this case, I should not have expected the woman to recover, but the manager assured me that these blacks are extremely hardy, and will survive treatment which would certainly kill a white.

I often saw the men catching wild fowl on the water, and it was most interesting to see the stealthy approach they made to the birds under cover of a tuft of grass and leaves held over their heads—I saw one man catch three before the rest took alarm—and it is this power of obtaining food in the poorest districts which has kept the poor aborigines alive through the ages—even in the driest regions. Then, too, they can get water from sources the whites never do, such as the roots of mulga or the trunks of the gouty-stem or bottle-tree ; and in this way they have survived terrible droughts which kill the white man's cattle in thousands.

They will eat, too, some of the wild fruits which I could not manage, but they are very wary of trying food they do not understand. Once I offered a man an apple, but he would not touch it ; but his wife tried it cautiously, and then offered it to her husband once more, after the manner of an ancestress of hers who had done the same long ago. This time the man took a tiny bite, after which the *lubra* ate it all and wanted another ; nor was there any further trouble about getting them to eat apples ; when a pear was offered, however, they again became cautious, and called it ' all the same brother belong apple.'

When once the black men have become your friends, they

show a fidelity which would shame many a white. The stories of the early explorers are full of their goodness : of Wylie, who stuck to Eyre through thick and thin ; of the blacks who gave up their share of water to enable the boy Farmer to live, in the Austin expedition ; of those who fed Wills and King, and kept King alive for months when the rest of the whites had perished, and restored him later to his friends—these and many more testify to the reliability one can place in any of those whose confidence you have won.

Then, too, though they never evolved a written language of their own in our sense of the word, they managed to convey their meaning by means of message-sticks, and some of these are extremely interesting to study. The marks consist of a number of lines and dots like a Morse code, but each mark has its own meaning ; for one black I knew told me beforehand what message he was sending, and the recipient, upon being handed the stick, repeated the same words after examining the marks. The grave-trees also, seen in wild places, have elaborate markings, each of which records an incident in the dead chief's life, and it is a thousand pities that these relics of the past are disappearing with the race.

As far as the blacks of the southern States are concerned, there is little or no hope of preserving them ; but experiments are being tried in remoter regions, whereby it is hoped that the extinction of the black men may at least be delayed. One such is the mission station established on one of the Crocodile Islands, off the north coast, by the Methodists. This is at Milingimbi, and is in charge of a Mr. Watson, and the island upon which he has established himself is interesting in itself. It is really the top of a submerged hill, like the surrounding islands, and must have been beneath the sea not so long ago ; for an old beach-line is to be seen two hundred yards inland. These islands are now rising slowly, and the present beach is girdled with great tamarind-trees, which have sprung from seeds planted by the birds or drifted in from the sea.

Here wild natives come in for the sake of the tobacco and flour given by the white men, and in return they help to clear the ground and plant fruit-trees ; and here, if they remain, they begin to cultivate the ground for themselves. It is true, as has often been said, that the Australian blacks are nomads, but this has always been necessary ; for with their primitive methods the ground they occupy gives out before long, both in game and in fertility, and therefore they are forced to move ; besides which, if a member of the tribe dies in a village, the rest move away from the haunted spot ; so they never build anything more substantial than humble *gunyahs*, or sheds ; but in the mission station they are beginning to settle in better houses, and to take an interest in their surroundings ; and, once they acquire a taste for white men's food and ways, they begin to get a distaste for the old ways of their fathers ; and, if Mr. Watson can keep his natives under his own eye, they should do well, for they are developing fast.

In another Reserve, the man in charge told me that all his work was done by black men, and he and his family never had any but blacks in their house, yet he had never lost a single object in all the years he had spent amongst his humble friends, though, like all primitive races, they are apt to be hasty in temper, and when roused are revengeful and passionate.

Concerning their powers of tracking, these are almost past belief. I saw one man who was employed to track down a murderer who had taken great pains to hide his tracks by getting into the water. But the black boy merely walked in the water, peering on both sides, and getting out of it here and there to quest about like a hound on the scent ; before long he left the water at a point where rocks ran down to the edge, and where no sign of human or other foot could be seen by a white man, and almost at once he went off at a run, just as a greyhound would do. He ended by running down his quarry, nor would there seem to be any hope for any one

except in a crowded street or other spot where the black man could not work.

'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' I have never felt the truth of this more strongly than when amongst the most primitive people on earth, for the similarity of all human beings is extraordinary—in all the essentials. For example, I have often heard that the Australian blacks have no religion, but I am not sure this is true. They certainly seem to fear devils, and they seem to be afraid of even speaking of the dead except in a cautious whisper. Again, even the wild blacks, who have all heard of white men now, though they may not have seen them, commonly say, 'Lie down black fellow, jump up white fellow,' as if they expected some sort of resurrection. Again, they have distinct burial customs, and observe them even now, though they do not like white men to witness them as a rule, perhaps fearing ridicule. But, if any one has gained their confidence, they betray the most dog-like devotion to him, and allow him to see their doings, and, if they are doomed to pass out, it is well to see these before it is too late.

When they bury a body, they do it much as the ancient Mousterians did; that is, they bend the body into three curves. First the arms are pinned on the chest, the hands covering the face, and the legs are drawn up to touch the arms, so that the elbows are touching the knees, and they then bury the body on the side, after which they cover the grave with leaves and branches and fill it in with earth and boughs of trees.

When they cook in the native fashion, they make a hole and fill it with embers, in the middle of which they put the bird or animal—unless it is too large; nor do they remove the feathers of birds or the skins of small animals, such as rabbits—a custom to be seen also amongst the gipsies in this country; and I can testify that an animal so cooked is excellent in flavour; but when the blacks come into contact with white men they quickly acquire a desire for white men's

ways and white men's food, so that it is difficult to see them at home.

Then, too, one can learn from them how the first man tamed the dog, for they love dogs, and go out into the bush after dingoes, and tame these pretty little beasts ; indeed, every native village has a number of dogs running about. These dingoes learn to hunt with their owners ; but, unfortunately, they usually 'go dingo' sooner or later and have to be destroyed. I knew one which had been tamed so long that it was trusted by every one ; but one day it suddenly bit a messenger who was walking up to the house, and within a day or two had bitten several more people, having found it easy to do so ; after which it made off to the bush, and was shot soon afterwards.

How do the black men feel towards the whites who have supplanted them, and do they resent their presence in the one-time country of the poor Stone men ? I often wondered, but it is hard to find out, for they have learned to be wary in the presence of the whites, though unkindness to them is a thing of the past. But just once I had a glimpse for myself into the heart of an aboriginal. Though I have told the story elsewhere, I cannot forbear telling it again, for it impressed me so much. I was sitting one hot day under the shade of some thick bottle-brush bushes on the plain of La Perouse, not far from the native Reserve there, when I saw an old black—the last pure-blooded black there now. He walked slowly to the clump of bushes, but did not see me, and he threw off the clothing imposed upon him by the whites and lay down under the trees. I stole a look at him now and then, and always he was looking out over the harbour, getting so covered now with bits of town in every beautiful bay. I shall never forget the look of hopeless desolation and melancholy on the old man's face as he gazed, for he must have witnessed so many rapid changes during his long life, including the death of one after another of his tribe, until he was now left alone, the last of his race. I felt ashamed of

being of those who had supplanted him and given him so little in exchange for all they have taken ; and I stole softly away, so that he would not think himself observed—had his senses not been dulled by age, he must have noticed me—and I left him to his reflections as the sun set with all the glory of an Australian close of day. Somehow the setting of the sun seemed an emblem of the passing of the old race before the new, though so different in the ways of their passing. It may be inevitable ; when the representatives of the Stone Age come up against those of the Wireless Age, one of the two must go under, and there is little doubt which it will be ; but those who feel a certain reverence and sympathy with the under-dogs cannot but feel a pang of pity to see the final passing away of these poor, mournful relics of a long-far past.

W. LAVALLIN PUXLEY.

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DR. BOREHAM'S *The Luggage of Life* and *Rubble and Roseleaves* are now available in the beautiful half-crown 'Pocket' Series (Epworth Press), which now includes eight of his wonderful books. They make very attractive volumes, and one cannot open them without being stirred by some happy incident or some apt quotation, such as the following : In his lecture on 'The Valley of Diamonds' John Ruskin discusses the nature of covetousness. 'The desire for wealth is good, he argues, as long as we have *some use* for the riches that we acquire ; it deteriorates into mere covetousness as soon as we crave to possess it for the sheer sake of possessing it and apart from any *use* to which we purpose to put it. "Fix your desire on anything useless," he says, "and all the pride and folly of your heart will mix with that desire; and you will become at last wholly inhuman, a mere, ugly lump of stomach and suckers, like a cuttlefish." ' The riches of the essays is surprising, and the writer's store seems inexhaustible.

*Medicinal Herbs and How to Identify Them* is an addition to the 'How to Identify' Series (Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.). It comes from the expert pen of Richard Morse, F.L.S., whose *British Wild Fruits* appears in the same series. His new book is meant for a pocket guide for country ramblers who wish to identify some of our commoner medicinal herbs, and to know a little about the principal virtues which these herbs have been said to possess. A page of description is given to each herb, and an illustration faces it. We do not wonder at the increasing popularity of this series.

## MARY GLADSTONE'S DIARIES<sup>1</sup>

THE twelve leather-covered volumes which Mrs. Masterman has edited form a practically continuous record from 1870 to 1886, the year of Mary Gladstone's marriage. After that event the diary becomes scanty, but is resumed with some fullness in 1911, after her husband's death. It is a vivid panorama of Victorian England as seen by a gifted woman whose strong likes and dislikes are evident on many of its pages.

Mary Gladstone was born on November 23, 1847, the fifth of the family of eight children. They were brought up in close association with their Lyttelton cousins, and on one occasion Lord Lyttelton found 'seventeen children upon the floor, all under the age of twelve, and consequently all inkstands, books, carpets, furniture, ornaments, in intimate intermixture and in every form of fracture and confusion.'

Mary was harshly treated, for her governess regarded her as 'half-witted,' and from first to last never gave her one word of praise or encouragement. She says: 'I grew up as a nonentity. I have never outgrown it.' She got one gleam of hope when she came into a room unexpectedly and heard her governess say that her playing was 'quite glorious.' That made the girl begin to suspect that there was something unreal in the unbroken disapproval which overshadowed her in the schoolroom.

Her mother was a genius, who acted on 'a series of inspired impulses and improvisations, sustained, it should be said, by a circle of devoted people whose minds worked on more conventional lines.' She once teased her husband: 'What a bore you would have been if you had married some one as

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<sup>1</sup> *Mary Gladstone (Mrs. Drew): Her Diaries and Letters.* Edited by Lucy Masterman. With thirty-nine illustrations. (Methuen & Co. 21s.)

tidy as you are.' Mrs. Masterman adds : ' Language fails to provide a term for the state of affairs which would have been produced had she married any one as untidy as she was.'

The family atmosphere was full of affection and mental activity, responsive to most of the intellectual interests of the day. Mary was the confidante of all, and her constant contrivance of plans won her the nickname of ' von Moltke.'

By the age of seventeen she could speak French and read Dante in Italian, and later was able to speak and write German. She read widely, though without method. Her real interest lay in music, which she practised and studied every day. Hubert Parry's playing first revealed to her how to express in music the emotions of the human heart. She met him as a beautiful boy at Wilton, in all the glow and glory of his love for Lady Maud Herbert, whom he married. After fifty years she still remembered the effect of his rendering of the Schumann Reverie and the Chopin Prelude.

The diary abounds in glimpses of famous people. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone went to Stafford House in April 1864 to meet Garibaldi, but found him tucked up in bed, dead tired with standing nearly five hours. Ten days later her cousin Lucy became engaged to Lord Frederick Cavendish. ' How bright and sunny all seems for them, both of them so good, and so unspeakably happy. Oh, may their married life be filled with every blessing ! ' She buys a beautifully bound copy of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* for a wedding-present and is busy shopping, for Lucy's trousseau. Her dislike of Disraeli, and her rapture over her father's speeches, comes out in an entry for July 4, 1864 : ' I went to the House of Commons with Agnes. Tremendous excitement. Dizzy spoke for two hours and fifty minutes. His speech was impudent and vulgar. He tried to put down the Government, and mimicked Lord John Russell to his face. Most noble and grand did Papa look when he got up.

He spoke for an hour and thirty-five minutes.' Writing to her cousin Lavinia, who married Edward Talbot, she dwells on the contrast between the two speeches : 'The first was simply full of stuff and nonsense, ungentlemanlike, and really inconsistent. The second was splendid. They say it was his best speech, and he did look so grand and noble when he got up and spoke, now with indignation, now with calmest contempt.' The same letter describes a concert where 'Jenny Lind sang six times, and her voice was perfectly heavenly—no other word can express what one felt in listening to it.'

Here is a note for 1866 : 'Lord Shaftesbury calls *Ecce Homo* "the most pestilential book vomited from the jaws of hell." Read it with the deepest interest and admiration. Papa has reviewed it, for it profoundly moved him.' As a child she was at Wilton in 1861, four months before the death of Sidney Herbert. 'Of all the men I ever came across, he was easily the first in charm and beauty.' On March 18, 1868, she listened to John Bright's 'magnificent speech, one of the very best I have ever heard. His "peroration" was something never to be forgotten. His whole manner, his countenance, voice, and words were those of an inspired orator. I am not an enthusiastic admirer of his, but, really, last night I felt myself bursting with enthusiasm. The only other peroration which is equal to it, or perhaps even surpassing it, was Papa's on Lord Grosvenor's amendment two years ago.'

At St. James's, Piccadilly, on March 6, 1870, she hears the first of a series of sermons by Mr. Liddon on 'Scepticism.' 'It lasted an hour and a quarter, and we all left the church quite turned inside out.' Many entries refer to the late Lord Balfour, and his brilliant performances on the 'infernals,' as they called his concertina. She became intimate with Joachim, whose music made her wish to go and kneel at his feet.

Tennyson and his son Hallam came as guests to Hawarden on October 31, 1876. Mary sat between them at dinner,

and says the poet snubbed her once or twice, but was afterwards very amiable. He read 'Harold' to the family. 'It lasted about two hours and a half, read with great vigour and power and evident enjoyment to himself; now and then he paused to praise the passage or to ask an opinion.' They were forced to take no heed of such earthly things as luncheon. She stayed at Farringford in 1879, and had an overwhelming feeling of shyness. When they were looking at funny old Chinese pictures, Tennyson said: 'We shall all turn into pigs if we lose Christianity and God.' He chaffed Mary unmercifully and treated her like a baby. She confesses that she was disappointed in his religion: 'It is purely founded on the chaos and failure of a godless world, and there is a want of reverence which is a shock from one who speaks of the "world's great altar stairs, that lead through darkness up to God."'

The entry dated Holmbury, July 19, 1873, is heart-breaking: 'Just before dinner, arrived intelligence of a bad fall of the Bishop of Winchester, who was to ride here with Lord Granville, but only about ten did we know the full and fearful extent of the fatal accident. The horse fell, throwing the bishop right over his head. Lord G. looked round and saw him lying quite still on his back. Life was already extinct. It is an awful thing and Lord Granville was like a ghost. Altogether a ghastly evening, so different, oh, so different, to what we thought.'

There is a touching story of the death of a little neighbour at Hawarden. Her mother was singing hymns to the girl when she suddenly said, 'Don't sing any more, mother, it drowns something else I'm hearing.' The child lay still, looking excited and speaking quickly and eagerly, though the words were unintelligible. Then she shut her eyes, and her spirit fled. The Sunday before her death she begged her mother to sing to her, 'for you won't have me next Sunday to sing to, mother dear. I shall be singing in another place. I can't sing now, but I shall then.'

Mary did not like Browning at first. 'He talks every body down with his dreadful voice, and always places his person in such disagreeable proximity with yours, and puffs and blows and spits in your face.' She quotes an American's saying that 'Browning has dinnered himself away.' The day came, however, when, as she confesses, she 'went Browning mad.'

At one dinner-party she sat opposite George, Lord Pembroke, a youth of twenty who stood 6 feet 5 in. high and had eyes bewildering in their beauty. He was next Delane, with whom he had a lively talk about newspaper editors. He told Mary Gladstone, when the men came upstairs, that he had said to this unknown gentleman : 'Nothing in the world would give me so much pleasure as to break my stick across an editor's back !' His consternation may be imagined when he discovered that he had been speaking to the editor of *The Times*. Delane told Mary later that he was completely vanquished by the charm of the boy.

Mrs. Drew refers to George Eliot's 'repulsively ugly face.' A few months later she sits on a sofa talking amicably to the novelist, and speaks of 'her great, strong face (a mixture of Savonarola and Dante),' and is deeply impressed with 'the gentleness and earnestness of her manner, both in speaking and listening.' When George Eliot died, Lord Acton wrote to Mary : 'In problems of life and thought which baffled Shakespeare disgracefully, her touch was unfailing. No writer ever lived who had anything like her power of manifold but disinterested and impartially observed sympathy. If Sophocles or Cervantes had lived in the light of our culture, if Dante had prospered like Manzoni, George Eliot might have had a rival.'

Ruskin was at Hawarden in 1878. He spoke just as he wrote. Every word, Mary Gladstone felt, might be written down. 'He has the most gentle and chivalrous manner, and reminded me a good deal of Carlyle—the slow and

soft stream of beautiful yet unaffected words, the sudden lighting up and splendid laugh. He talked about sins and ugly things in the world all as mistakes or misprints, and utterly condemned the way in which they are dwelt upon and collected.' He admired Frederick W. Myers enormously, and thought Tennyson the greatest painter of nature after Homer. ' Looking back upon it now as enrolled among the glories of the past, I think nothing could have been more entrancing and even ennobling. More than any one else he seemed to give one a glimpse of "the King in His beauty," always revealing the loveliness of things, choosing the good, refusing the evil. Though often unpractical and inconsistent, there is a consistency of its own about all he says, and you feel throughout that he is a raising influence in your lives.'

Canon Scott Holland was one of her closest clerical friends. She went to hear him at St. Paul's on Easter Day, 1879. 'Vast congregation, and the splendid lessons were splendidly read by Dr. Liddon. The Easter hymn was overwhelming. Mr. Holland's sermon on "Death," startling, dramatic, triumphant. The picture was Mary weeping by the empty tomb, the point was the call—"He saith unto her, 'Mary.'" It was full of power, and stirred one very deeply. He ended with a few words of passionate prayer.' On Easter Day, 1884, she heard him again in St. Paul's. He preached all the things she and her sister had been talking over with Mr. Welldon 'till I felt quite mad. It was the most ardent, wonderful sermon. I kept wondering how many out of that mighty congregation would awake and then let themselves fall asleep again. The Easter hymn at the end was enough to wake the dead.'

On May 6, 1882, she got back late from the theatre and was met at Downing Street by 'bad news.' Lord Frederick Cavendish had been stabbed in Phoenix Park, Dublin, about half past seven. She went straight to Lucy, Lady Cavendish, with whom she found Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone

and Lord Hartington. The poor wife had borne the blow wonderfully, at first thinking Lord Frederick would recover. Next morning Mary was with her cousin again—‘ Lucy came in, her face unaltered in expression, and I saw that her splendid goodness and faith had indeed triumphed in this bitter hour. She talked most wonderfully, told me all about the thoughts which had come to her since—the Passion, then the anthem at the Abbey yesterday, “Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace,” and all the blessings of her married life.’ Mary made the great cross, seven feet long, with deep-red roses in the middle, for the grave at Chatsworth, where the duke was ‘bowed down with grief, Lucy calm and really the support of all, the sun smiling down over the mourners, and the splendid sweep of country.’

Mary shared the mighty excitement and success of the Midlothian campaign in 1884 and 1885. At Waverley Market the crowd was overwhelming, and Mr. Gladstone’s lungs were ‘stupendous.’ Lord Rosebery held the people in the hollow of his hands, and ‘the passionate devotion to him was perhaps the most striking feature of the week.’ The election in November 1885 gave Mr. Gladstone a majority of 4,600.

Mary married Harry Drew—her brother’s curate, and afterwards rector, at Hawarden—on February 2, 1886, and had one daughter, who married, in 1912, Captain Parish, a member of Lord Gladstone’s staff in South Africa.

Archbishop Benson’s tragic death in Hawarden Church on October 11, 1896, forms a thrilling entry. The previous night she had sat next him at dinner, and went with him and Mrs Benson next morning to the 8-o’clock Communion. After breakfast they went together to church. They walked very slowly and he rested several times. ‘In the Confession he seemed to be sinking gradually, and in the Absolution several came rapidly to his aid, and, lifting him up, carried him unconscious from the church.’ He was placed on the library sofa, but never regained consciousness, and in a

moment or two all was over. Stephen Gladstone announced it in the church, and they sang 'For ever with the Lord.' Mrs. Drew stayed all day at the rectory with Mrs. Benson, met the two sons when they arrived, and saw the dead archbishop in his robes. 'Nothing could be more majestic.'

Mr. Drew died on March 31, 1910. His widow published her *Acton, Gladstone, and Others* in 1924, and made some preparation for the publication of her diaries. Much of the raciness and individuality of the original MS. was then toned down, but after Mrs. Drew died, on New Year's Day, 1927, Mrs. Masterman was able to use the ampler material.

The Diary as thus printed is an unrivalled picture of great persons and great events as seen by one who was at the very centre of the political and social life of the times. We judge the writer's charm by the friendship of men like Lord Rosebery, Lord Acton, Lord Tennyson, Mr. Balfour, Canon Scott Holland, and a host of celebrities with whom she was intimate and the memory of all of whom shines out brightly from her living pages.

JOHN TELFORD.

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The Abingdon Press publish: *The Preacher and Politics*. By W. W. T. Duncan. (\$1.25.) The author holds that the public discussion of political issues is a minister's duty. That means that he must protest against whatever in his judgement may be harmful to the public interest. Mr. Duncan argues that, 'without the unique fundamentals of the Christian faith, one cannot adequately relate himself to public affairs.' The conception of a trustworthy God of infinite love is behind every reform movement of the Christian Church. It is a strong argument, but those who take this course need much wisdom and tact.—*Disciple Winners*, by Christian F. Reisner (\$1.50), gives the opinions of prominent business men as to the qualities of a successful salesman, and shows how 'we are to hunt for those unattached to Christ' with confidence that the 'message' will win. Dr. Reisner is sure that, 'if pastor and people join hands in devout disciple-winning, they will have a joyous victory that will renew youth.'—*The Nursery Child in the Church School*, by Anna F. Betts (\$1.25), will be invaluable to teachers. It gives wise suggestions as to plans and equipment, much lesson material, with music and songs, and it is well supplied with good illustrations.

## Notes and Discussions

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### DR. WAY'S VERSION OF THE PSALMS<sup>1</sup>

AN old pupil of Dr. Way's, who, as he reads, can hear again that resonant voice, which even to a schoolboy could make Virgil eloquent and Aeschylus arresting, may be allowed to point out some of the beauties of his former master's work. The first thing which strikes the reader is the wonderful variety of metres. The Scotch version has many excellences, but the unvarying 'common metre' soon palls upon a Methodist ear. There is no monotony in Dr. Way's renderings. We get well into the book before a single verse-form is repeated, and many of them are the translator's own. He begins with the 'Omar Khayyám' metre, which he uses again in Ps. cxxxix., suggesting a comparison between the fatalist who extols the wine-cup and the psalmist who realizes the omnipresence of God. The 10.8 iambic metre very well suits Ps. cxix., which rings the changes, ten in number, on the various names for the 'word' or 'law' of God. The 'In Memoriam' metre is used in Pss. v. and xxxix., and fitly expresses the quiet devotion of the former and the pathetic pleading of the latter, which concludes :

Answer my prayer, O Lord ! Give ear  
When with repentant tears I moan.  
If Thou be far, I stand alone  
On earth ; I am a stranger here  
  
As all my fathers were of yore.  
Thy stern displeasure, oh, refrain !  
A little heart-peace would I gain  
Ere I go hence, and be no more.

Ps. xviii.—David's 'magnificent eucharistic ode,' as Spurgeon calls it—offers a challenge which Dr. Way takes up with remarkable skill. A trochaic triple-rhyming stanza reproduces the vigour and eloquence of the original. Every reader of the Bible is impressed with the verse on the divine inscrutability—'He made darkness His hiding-place,' &c.—and Dr. Way's rendering is characteristic and adequate :

Darkness hid Him, a pavilion wrought of herded clouds on-driven,  
Darkness of a sea of waters, blackness of the scowling heaven;  
But with the brightness of His levin and His hail the clouds were riven.

The Thunderstorm Psalm (xxix.) is splendidly rendered. In each of

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<sup>1</sup> *The Psalms : A Verse Translation*, by A. S. Way, D.Lit. (Epworth Press, 6s. net).

the first five stanzas, every line save the last has a penultimate accent, which keeps the movement swift and continuous ; in the last, where the Most High is represented as sitting enthroned on the water-floods and the tumult has died down, every line ends with an accented syllable, and the effect is given of calm following storm. The closing lines are :

He husheth the voices, the tumult shall cease :  
Evermore will the Lord bless His people with peace.

The variation in the fifth verse of the almost identical Pss. xiv. and liii. is faithfully reproduced by a similar variation in the rendering.

In the difficult Ps. lxviii., which in any translation should appear as a lofty poem, Dr. Way uses a rugged hexameter to reproduce the force and dignity of the original. In the lines which begin with an accented syllable, the rhythm is exactly that of a classical hexameter, e.g. :

- v. 12 : Singing, 'The kings of their armies have fled as do scattering waters.'
- v. 20 : Under His loving protection they are ; for His people He careth.
- v. 25 : Singers go chanting before, and behind them the minstrels are pacing.
- v. 32 : Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms of earth, in allegiance adoring !
- v. 38 : Lo, He hath uttered His Voice, the great Voice speaking in thunder !

The dignity of these and many other lines is well in keeping with the spirit of the psalm.

The processional Ps. cxviii. is gracefully rendered in ordinary long metre, the only place where Dr. Way uses it. In this psalm occurs the verse in which the writer diverges from all the English versions, and to which he draws attention in the preface. 'Bind the sacrifice with cords even unto the horns of the altar' is the familiar rendering. It is a wonder that the R.V. allowed it to stand, especially as careless readers are sure to take it to mean that sacrifices were *tied* to the horns of the altar. The general sense is, 'Bind the multitude of victims with cords up to the very horns of the altar,' which may mean either 'bind and lead them up' or 'bring them in such numbers that they reach from the gate to the horns of the altar.' The LXX. takes another line by translating the word for sacrifice as 'festival' : 'Keep the feast in crowds' ; and the Vulgate follows this. Luther renders, 'Decorate the festival with leafy boughs,' &c. Dr. Way departs still further from the old translation—and from the Massoretic text—and gives us :

Here in the Lord's own light we stand,  
The festival-procession guide,  
Palm-branches waving in each hand,  
To draw them to the altar-side.

But, much as we like the paraphrases of Luther and of Dr. Way, there does not seem to be a very firm foundation for them in the Hebrew.

In Ps. xc. 11, where the A.V. and P.B.V. seem to have no meaning at

all, and where the R.V. paraphrases so as to get some meaning out of the verse, Dr. Way renders :

Who knows Thine anger's weight ? The less we fear Thee,  
The greater is Thy wrath ;

which is at least intelligible, and better than Delitzsch (' And the fear of Thee according to Thy wrath ') and the E.Vv.

Dr. Way accepts the R.V. changes in xvi. 2 and xix. 8, but, rather strangely, adheres to the A.V. description of the horse and the mule in Ps. xxxii., ' lest haply they swerve upon thee.' In xxxvi. 1 he follows Delitzsch as against both A. and R.V. :

'My way is right !' the wicked man's transgression softly saith  
To his own heart.

In concluding Ps. xlvi. with ' Our God shall be our Guide eternally,' Dr. Way avoids the anti-climax of ' unto death ' following ' for ever and ever,' where perhaps the closing words are a musical direction for the next psalm and do not mean ' unto death ' at all. But we must leave our readers to follow Dr. Way for themselves along the range of difficult or disputed passages, and draw attention to other features of the book.

The writer's great facility in using (and framing) compound words will be remembered by all his old scholars, and it is happily illustrated all through this translation. The following are a few examples : ' Herds in pasture-peace abiding ' (viii.), ' Their blood-boulder'd altar-throne ' (xvi.). Shakespeare has ' The blood-bolter'd Banquo smiles upon me,' and that word is generally taken to mean ' having the hair matted with blood.' Dr. Way apparently widens the meaning to ' spattered with blood,' but why does he alter the spelling ? ' Urus-horns ' (xxii.) is a clever rendering. (Compare the equally happy one in xcii. 10 : ' like the horn of a lord of the herd.') ' Crag-foundations ' (xxx.), ' slander-laden ' (xli.), ' panic-wafting ' and ' battle-strain ' (xlv.), ' God-banned ' (lili.), ' lion-horde ' (lviii.), ' mockery-chant ' and ' derision-song ' (lxix.), ' chariot-clouds ' and ' flame-rifted ' (xciii.), ' sirocco-blight ' (cii.), ' sorrow-fraught ' (cxix.), ' viewless-winging ' (cxlviii.), and ' glory-litten ' (cxlix.), are all words which, especially in their context, explain themselves.

It is a happy idea to render the fifteen ' Songs of Ascents '—or ' Pilgrim Psalms,' as Dr. Way calls them—in the same metre; and there are some felicitous touches, e.g. the repetition of a word in cxvi. : ' It seemed a dream, a blissful dream.'

Finally, a word on Dr. Way's rhymes. In all his translations, where he uses rhyme he shows great skill and resource. In this book Dr. Way is very sparing of ' printer's rhymes.' Several times he gives us *Lord, word*, of which Wesley was far too fond, but it is usually a real rhyme which he uses, such as ' sword,' ' abhorred,' ' ward,' and so on up to thirteen different words. Dr. Way never mis-rhymes the word

'God,' as many hymn-writers do, and only once does he use the expletive 'so,' of which amateur poets are fond. The last line of cxlviii. is : 'The people that are to the Lord so nigh.' Would not 'His saints, to the Lord a people nigh,' have been rather more literal, and have dispensed with the expletive *so*? But we must not begin to correct our teacher, or we shall hear that well-remembered voice say 'No, sir, it would not. You will stay in and write the original rendering a hundred times!'

We strongly commend Dr. Way's book as a devotional manual. To every thoughtful reader it should prove a growing delight.

JOHN T. WADDY.

### METHODISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE significance of Wesley's work as a religious revival has long been recognized by writers of all schools of thought ; it has been reserved for Dr. Wellman J. Warner to show its significance as a conception of the nature of society and its standards of value. His object is to appraise the social theory which the revival embodied, and to measure its effectiveness in the eighteenth century, both as a version of the Christian ethic and a factor in the political and economic processes which were bringing about a new society. No one can turn the pages of his volume—*The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution* (Longmans, 15s.)—without being impressed by the comprehensive scale of his investigations. Every relevant source of information in Wesley's *Works*, the *Methodist Magazine*, and in biographies and local histories seems to have been laid under contribution. That entitles the work to a unique place in every Methodist library.

Dr. Warner calls attention to the process by which, in the eighteenth century, the individual emerged as superior to any external labels and as the unit of political calculation. The humanitarian movement shifted the basis of its estimate of the citizen from impersonal to personal grounds. Economists estimated that at the end of the seventeenth century more than half of the entire population were a liability on the nation. No one dreamed of any fundamental change. 'Proposals for relief included projects for promoting charity schools, schools of industry, co-operative industrial communities, and other expedients, completely unaware of the possibility of a radical cure. The magnitude of the class in need, and the problem of relief, appalled both those whose benevolence prompted them to seek means of relieving the most acute distress and those whose purses felt the strain of public levies.'

The individual began to emerge in the eighteenth century. The disfranchised class became politically conscious and responsible. A new philanthropy was born, and manifested itself in an unprecedented

interest in the provision of reliefs for the destitute sick. Elementary education became a recognized necessity, and public sentiment against slavery was completely reversed. A growing sense of the importance of public health and personal hygiene became unmistakable, and the amazing extension of the habit of reading throughout all ranks of society helped forward these new impulses. 'Through the printed word the community was being knit together, its sense of social values defined, and the ability to adjust men's outlook to a society of innovation was being effectually nurtured in the process.'

Dr. Warner regards Wesleyanism as a religious theory of social structure and social process. Its religious and sociological significance centred round man's nature and the theory of perfectionism. 'Around these two practically all of the revival teaching revolved, and in the printed sermons and records which survive they bulk larger than all of the remainder. The first represents the point of departure, the second the goal, while religious processes bridge the distance between.' Perfectionism was 'an extremely practical doctrine. It affirmed a confidence in the possibilities of human nature which, in its sober grasp of realities, was in marked contrast to the superficial optimism of Shaftesbury, or to the pretensions of the doctrinaire ideals of Godwin. Perplexing to the uninitiated, it was regarded as a workable remedy for social disease; and, although it was explained in terms of religious dogma, the validity of the position was persistently held up to the test of its empirical results.'

'A turning-point came with the passing of Wesley, the rise to influence of a new class, and the revolution phobia in contemporary society.' Dr. Warner holds that lay Wesleyanism was more democratic than its conservative ministry and its richer members. In 1820 it was claimed that 'tens of thousands of reformers, and constitutional reformers too,' were Wesleyans. Methodism had notable influence in infusing its economic teaching into the habits of the labouring population, who constituted the largest single class of its followers. By degrees the ethical-economic teaching of Wesley, with its ideas about the use of money, ceased to be a practical conception. With that rejection, a new spirit tended to control the movement, and the moral emphasis in the revival's economic teaching was neutralized. Many of the Puritan virtues remained; but, as a progressive factor in the definitely political and economic struggles of the succeeding century, Wesleyanism had surrendered its capacity for creative leadership.' The book must be studied closely to realize its importance as a survey of Methodism in Wesley's day and in the century after his death. Dr. Warner would himself allow that Methodism in the last generation, by its central missions and its institutional programme, had been renewing its youth. He pays tribute to the way in which Wesleyanism worked with a multitude of other forces to make a new community. Its importance 'lay, not in any exclusive services, but in the friendliness of its influence to contemporary trends.' There is 'one immensely important factor to support the Wesleyan claim to uniqueness in the humanitarian development.

It bred into every phase of its work the equalitarian assumption. Any other attitude was incongruously foreign to the spirit of the early societies. So far as the records reveal, the category of inferiority was unknown to the motives of Wesleyanism.'

THE EDITOR.

### LETTERS OF LONG AGO

IT is possible to make the past live again by bringing a sufficient amount of imagination to bear on the hoary documents which lie behind history. Few types of writing need less of this power than letters. When we turn over an old bundle of private correspondence, we are able to catch the very heart-beats of the long ago. In these very human documents we meet men and women who, while separated from us by the centuries, are of our own kith and kin. Their interests and their troubles, their joys and tribulations, are so like our own that we realize anew how akin is the whole human race, and that neither chronology nor geography, after all, makes much difference. Let us pick up a little bundle of four letters written from the Arsinoite nome of Egypt by a man named Ammonius, who writes to his agent and friend Aphrodisius. The first letter, which is dated A.D. 38, is full of such anxious injunctions as any modern farmer might pen :

'Ammonius to his dearest Aphrodisius, greeting. I wrote a letter to the herdsman Heracleus that he should supply you with a donkey, and I bade Ophelion also to supply you with another, and to send me the loaves. You have sent me three artabae; I ask you, therefore, to do your utmost to send the remaining three artabae immediately, and the relish, as I am on board a boat. As to the pigs' fodder, and the rest of the price of the hay, make provision until I come; for I expect to make up an account with you. I have given you every allowance. Urge your wife from me to look after the pigs, and do you also take care of the calf. Be sure, Aphrodisius, to send me the loaves and the relish; and, if you will, write me to whom I shall pay a further 20 dr. for hay and fodder. Good-bye. The 2nd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mecheir 26.  
[Addressed] To Aphrodisius, agent.'

The next letter seems to have been done in a hurry, just before the post went out, as it is very short. While it is dated two years after the first, the good farmer is still concerned about donkeys and loaves.

'Ammonius to his dearest Aphrodisius, greeting. I received a letter bidding me send for the loaves on the 5th. I will accordingly send the donkeys to you on the 8th without fail. Please do your utmost to secure me the unguent of lentils; do not neglect this, lest we think you to have become all at once estranged towards us. Salute Thermion, your sister, and your children. Good-bye.'

If, on account of its brevity, the letter just quoted was suspected

of being done just before the post went, the next letter certainly has been done in haste. The hand is certainly that of our friend Ammonius, but haste has had its effect, in a much larger formation of the letters. The need for this urgent epistle is that he has heard that his grain is in peril, from an abnormally high flooding of the Nile. There is no time for delay if the crop is to be saved, and word must be got through to the trusty Aphrodisius at once. However the first word is still about the inevitable loaves ; and, in addition, our friend desires the olives from his plantations to be picked.

'Ammonius to his dearest Aphrodisius, greeting. Kindly order the loaves to be made, and the olives to be pickled, and send me word in order that I may send for them. Get the corn in the granary moved because of the inundation, all of it. Good-bye. Greet Thermion and your children. The 5th year, Soter 21. I have written to you in haste.'

The presence of the two postscripts is interesting. Our correspondent evidently thought that he had been a bit too curt and businesslike, to one who was, after all, as much a friend as an employee. So, as he cannot see the postman coming up the road just yet, he dashes off a brief greeting to his agent's wife and children. In his confusion he now notes that he has omitted the date. More haste, less speed ! But no sooner has the date been dashed down than he begins to think that some excuse is called for, for this very irregular letter. In goes the last postscript ; the letter is addressed, and, just in time, is delivered to the collecting office for dispatch to the flooded area.

The three letters already cited belong to the collection of Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester ; but there is another epistle from the same hand in the British Museum. It also belongs to the year A.D. 40.

There are a number of points of interest about this letter. In the first place it supplies the earliest instance of dating by the two calendars, the Roman and the Egyptian. Moreover, this is the only instance of the kind outside horoscopes. The difference between the two systems at this date amounted to sixteen days. We are acquainted with the Pholus, mentioned in this letter, from other sources. He was indeed a person of considerable importance in the nome. His rank was that of *ἐπιστάτης φυλακιτῶν*. This post is best known as the provincial chief of police in Ptolemaic times, but, from frequent references to it, it would appear that this official in the first decades of the first century was still largely responsible for public security. He had the whole nome under his control, and it would appear that his rank was superior to that of the strategus ; a conclusion which accords with the frequent appointment of Romans to this office. The term of office seems usually to have exceeded a year, at times even two years ; and re-appointment was, perhaps, possible. The concurrent competence of the centurion in the same period has been noted by Zucker ; and Wilcken makes the suggestion that the centurion eventually displaced the epistates. Probably the office

deteriorated in importance, but we have some evidence that it survived in the Delta until the second century.

With regard to Chief-of-Police Pholus, there are two very interesting petitions addressed to him in the Rylands collection of papyri. One of these is a complaint of insult and injury, and the other of assault and robbery.

The son of this official has complained that Aphrodisius has given him nothing on account of a child called Seras. Can this Seras have been the son of Ammonius? Had the boy been in trouble with the police, and bail been demanded; or had he been put under the care of Diomedes in the capacity of an apprentice or student? It may be that Diomedes had entered the teaching profession, instead of entering the Government's service in his father's footsteps.

Be that as it may, Ammonius considers that the boy had better be sent home. It will not do to get into the black books of the son of so important an official; particularly as an enemy of his, Zenodotus, has been making many charges against him before Pholus. The risks of the road can easily be obviated by sending the lad along with one of the gamekeepers of the estate. There is a further reason for writing, in addition to the concern for the boy; and that is that the grape-pressing is proving to be a bit too much for Ammonius, and he requires extra help.

'Diomedes son of Pholus says that you have given him nothing on account of Seras. Please, therefore, send me the child immediately, and come to Bubastus on the 4th, or the 20th by the Egyptian calendar, for I am grape-pressing there, and buy me some relishes on the 8th and bring them to Berenicis of the Shore on the 10th, that is, the 26th. I am grape-pressing there, so come. Zenodotus made many charges before Pholus. . . . Please send me the child by one of the guards. Greet Thermion. Collect the loan of 40 dr. and the 6 dr. interest, and for anything that may be owing. Good-bye. The 4th year, the 28th of the month Drousieus.'

'P.S.—Bring also four artabae of loaves.'

We will here leave our farmer friend and his most obliging agent, and trust that he not only got the daily bread, which was so much in his thoughts, but that the child arrived home safely, and that any little trouble which may have arisen with either Diomedes or with his far more formidable father was successfully overcome.

E. J. JENKINSON.

## Recent Literature

### THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*Philosophical Theology.* By F. R. Tennant. Vol. II.: The World, the Soul, and God. (Cambridge University Press. 15s.)

THIS volume completes a masterly contribution to the philosophy of religion. It so obviously challenges certain established and orthodox philosophical prolegomena to theism that theological teachers will consider its discussions and their issues with close attention. In the first volume, which was recently noticed in this REVIEW, Dr. Tennant, after examining the several mental processes which present us with phenomenal knowledge, reached the conclusion that 'the only ontal thing, for whose essence even a pittance of "knowledge" can be claimed is the soul itself.' In the present volume a transition is made from propaedeutic studies to theological issues. The first problem investigated is the possibility of passing from phenomenal knowledge of the external world to knowledge as to its ontal nature. Consequently, attention passes from science considered as knowledge-process, which constituted the field of inquiry in the previous volume, to science as a knowledge-product—from the 'how?' to the 'what?' of human knowledge. *What* is it we know? The main scope of the volume before us is to present the first stages of an argument for theism which, recognizing the conformity of the world to law, finds an empirical approach to theism a fair interpretation of the law and mechanism of the physical theories of the world. Nature's uniformity, as described by science, is compatible with theism and science's first indication of a call for theistic interpretation; 'a teleologically reached theism is not discontinuous with scientific explanation.' It is the exposition of this principle of continuity—'the unbrokenness of the chain' which shows that theistic faith is continuous with the faith of science—that constitutes one of the main purposes of Dr. Tennant's work. So long as theistic faith can be demonstrated as on a par, in respect of its intellectual status, with the probabilities which are involved in all other knowledge concerning actuality, he is content. It is this connectedness of problems which physical science must face, in seeking reliable knowledge of the world, with those that concern the reality of God and the soul that binds Dr. Tennant's two volumes into an organic whole. This unity is everywhere dominant. Throughout all the discussions we are never allowed to forget that the method of seeking knowledge of the three primary entities—the world, the soul, and God—must be the same. It must be empirical, and only empirical. We may never set out from any preconceived idea of God. Intuitive convictions have no place. Value judgements are

out of court. 'No *a priori*, rational, logically coercive, or deductive proof is possible.' 'Procedure "from above" is convicted of issuing in "explanations" such as only increase our perplexities by creating puzzles and problems more intractable than those involved in the *explicanda*.' 'The inner significance of this world is missed by abstract and *a priori* systems of philosophical theology.' No candid reader can fail to appreciate the strength of conviction, the reasonableness, and the pervasive dignity with which Dr. Tennant carries through his discussion and defence of this main contention. It will also be a genuine source of satisfaction that the theistic position can be sustained in a scientific age by the scientific methods of empiricism. But it will not be forgotten that the utmost proof that the empirical method can supply is probability. That must always mark the limit of inductive processes. It is inevitable. 'Wheresoever we walk, we walk by faith, not by sight alone; by reasonableness, and not by rationality.' 'No more in cosmology than in theology should certitude pose as certainty, nor can any other guide than probability be invoked. The knowledge of God is not demonstrable, nor is the knowledge of the soul intuitively or immediately certain. . . . God, the soul, and the world are all objects of probable belief. And the probability in question is, in each case, ultimately alogical.' It will be seen that Dr. Tennant leaves no place in any modern theodicy for idealism in any of its forms. 'To proceed from thought-created entities, or to set out "from above," is to begin in essentially the same kind of supposition as that which, in grotesque forms, is exhibited in primitive cosmogonies. In this respect, however great be the difference in other respects, it must be alleged that Platonism, neo-Platonism, and modern forms of absolute idealism are on a par with pre-scientific creations of poetic or mythopoeic fancy.' To write off as useless and obsolete the wealth and wonder of philosophies that enshrine the products of the creative genius of the race is a big price to pay for even so acute, so tempered, so stately a constructive system of natural theology as Dr. Tennant has given us in this fine piece of scientific and philosophical reasoning. Is this whole burnt-offering inevitable? Is there no place for the intuitive processes of the human mind, none for the mystic movement of the human spirit in its search for the knowledge of God? Can no use be made of the ontological method in theistic prolegomena? These are questions that other readers, as well as the writer of this notice, may possibly ask; though perhaps he ought to confess that he turned immediately from reading James Adam's *The Religious Teachers of Greece* to the keen intellectual stimulus and pleasure provided by Dr. Tennant's great book.

*The Old Testament in Greek.* Vol. II.; Part II.: 1 and 2 Kings. Edited by A. E. Brooke, D.D., N. McLean, M.A., and H. St. John Thackeray, M.A., D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 20s.)

The progress of what is obviously a life-work, characteristic of the

best traditions of British scholarship, has taken another step forward in the publication of the Greek text of 1 and 2 Kings. It is three years since the first part of Vol. II. containing the Books of Samuel appeared, and some fourteen years since the first volume was completed. Printed with all the art and accuracy for which the Cambridge University Press is so well known, the Greek text is that of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, and a detailed critical apparatus is supplied containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities, including the Old Latin, Syriac, Egyptian, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Palestinian Aramaic versions. So full are the critical notes that they frequently occupy as much as two-thirds of the large octavo pages. Never before has the student had at his disposal so full a conspectus of authorities for the recovery of the ancient text of the Septuagint version.

It is in virtue of the wider basis of manuscript tradition, especially that of the versions, as well as the critical judgement of the three learned editors, that the new text will take the place of the still invaluable *Old Testament in Greek* edited by the late Dr. H. B. Swete. The first volume of Dr. Swete's work appeared forty-three years ago, and, as an illustration of the principle of continuity in British scholarship, it is pleasing to recall that one of the present editors, Dr. St. John Thackeray, assisted Dr. Swete in revising the third edition of Vol. II. in 1907. Like Dr. Swete, the present editors are acknowledged masters in the field of Septuagint research. As a commentator and Professor of Divinity, Dr. Brooke enjoys a world-wide reputation; Dr. St. John Thackeray is the learned author of the *Grammar of the Septuagint* (Vol. I.); and Mr. McLean is the Master of Christ's College and University Lecturer in Aramaic. The tribute paid by the editors to the generous help of the German Septuagint scholar, Professor Rahlfs of Göttingen, in arranging collations of manuscript evidence, is a welcome sign of the growth of international co-operation in scholarship, so sadly interrupted by the war and still far from being completely re-established.

The student who uses the new text will need to familiarize himself with the elaborate system of symbols by which the variant readings are identified; but, once these difficulties are mastered, he will have at his disposal an invaluable authority for the text of the Old Testament in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. If he knows Hebrew, he will be able to compare the text implied by the Greek translation with the existing Hebrew text, and, inasmuch as the authorities for the latter are very late, he will be able to work back to an earlier stage which, if not always more satisfactory, will often permit him to advance farther into the territory of disputed questions of history and interpretation. For this reason the relation of the new work to Old Testament exegesis is a very intimate one, and especially is this the case in the books of Samuel and Kings, where ancient sources, which bear witness to traditional ideas, beliefs, and practices, have been utilized by the Hebrew editors of these Old Testament writings. The value, then, of a new edition of the text

of the Septuagint cannot be exaggerated, apart altogether from its importance for the study of popular Greek. In addition to this, the new text enables us to make a closer approach to what Professor Deissmann justly calls 'the Bible of Philo the philosopher, Paul the apostle, and the earliest Christian missions' and 'the mother of the Greek New Testament.' Clearly, our debt to the editors of the new Cambridge Septuagint is a very heavy one, and we trust that their long-continued task will be carried through to a triumphant end.

*The Pathetic Fallacy : A Study of Christianity.* By Llewelyn Powys. (Longmans & Co. 5s.)

The writer holds that Christianity is a moribund religion which 'interferes with a clear and enlightened vision of life. We have pretended long enough. Christianity is but a dream of savagery and pitifulness.' 'Generations will pass, centuries will pass, and Christianity will dissolve back into mist.' In his view, it has sprung, like other religions, 'from the shuddering of the living human spirit in the face of the Infinite.' He admits that those who came in contact with Jesus could never rid themselves of the love that He roused in their hearts ; 'no homage can be great enough with which to honour Him.' He finds it difficult to doubt the veracity of the main outlines of the gospel story of the Crucifixion, but 'Easter is a deep and tender myth created and preserved by the passionate longings of men.' The genius of a single man saved Christianity. It was in the love of Christ that St. Paul lived and moved and had his being. The noble army of martyrs were 'at any moment prepared to face death in its most horrible form for their new madness.' Those quotations show the spirit of the book. It is based on the assumption that these men and women of the past were so blind to facts, so unable to see through patent fallacies, even when their homes and lives were in jeopardy, that you can dismiss them as fools and fanatics. Such a theory strikes at the root of all civilization. It assumes what is contradicted by all the facts : that the men of Christ's generation and St. Paul's were less competent to deal with matters that affected their very existence than Mr. Powys himself. St. Paul's 'daily experience of an unaccountable bliss,' which Mr. Powys recognizes freely, must have had a firm foundation to stand all the shocks of his apostleship, and we can only smile at this attempt to dissolve it into a delusion and the airy fabric of a vision.

*Man and his Religion.* By S. P. T. Prideaux, D.D. (Williams & Norgate. 10s.)

This comparative study of religions ancient and modern is dedicated to the students at Warminster and Salisbury, to whom Dr. Prideaux is lecturer and tutor. His first four chapters are a survey of religions in general, which is followed by a discussion of the motives, functions, and concepts of religion. General conclusions are then drawn, and finality is claimed for Jesus Christ and Christianity. The account

of sacred places, ceremonies, and religious persons and orders is of great interest. We do not know a more complete and instructive survey. The last chapters show that Christianity is indestructible and is continually spreading. You cannot get away from it. 'Its teaching and its ideals are part and parcel of the nature of man and of the world.' The subject is one of great importance, and Dr. Prideaux handles it with skill and sympathy in this most readable and impressive volume.

*New Testament Ethics : An Introduction.* By C. A. Anderson Scott, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 5s.)

Dr. Scott is the first Nonconformist who has delivered the Hulsean Lectures, and his study of the ethical teaching of Christ with His criticism of evil and His method of goodness is followed by two lectures on St. Paul's reproduction and development of the ethical teaching of Jesus and the apostle's illustrations of his ethical principles. The sixth lecture defines the limits within which these principles can be expected to operate, and shows how they can be progressively removed. Such luminous discussion of the New Testament art of a good life is of great value. Before Christ 'the path of human duty had been narrowly hedged in by fences of positive law. It has now become the king's highway.' The laws remain, but, to the man who has 'this living, energizing ideal, the Spirit of Christ, in his heart, they are like signposts to one who knows the road.' The account of St. Paul's challenge of the gigantic evil of sexual impurity is convincing testimony to his confidence in Christ, and in the gospel as a divine force unto salvation. There are many new lights in this welcome little set of lectures.

*South Indian Schemes.* By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 5s.)

The Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in a preface to this book, criticizes Canon Streeter's work on the origins of the Christian ministry, more particularly his reconstruction of the part played by St. Ignatius. Dr. Sparrow Simpson himself devotes a chapter to 'Canon Streeter's theories,' and regards the whole of his construction as purely speculative from beginning to end. As to the Bishop of Gloucester's interpretation of the facts about the ministry in the Primitive Church, he says a very considerable school of thought in the English Church finds them unconvincing. He holds that 'the historic character of the English Church would be fundamentally changed by the introduction of a theory about the ministry to which that Church had never yet been officially committed.' The fact that the irregularity of contrasted ministries would only exist for thirty years does not meet his objection. 'The difficulty is not whether it should happen often, but whether it should happen at all.' Dr. Spens would go further than his friend, but he also writes in his preface: 'The doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, the belief that

no Christian ministry is legitimate which does not possess historic continuity with the apostolic government, is based on, and witnesses to, the fact and significance of the Incarnation.' We should have said that all ministries rested on that foundation as firmly as that which claims to be in the Apostolic Succession. The supporters of the South Indian scheme will know how to meet Dr. Sparrow Simpson's argument, and, however much they differ from him, will not regret to have the Anglo-Catholic view stated with such force and ability.

*Christology and Criticism.* By Benjamin B. Warfield.  
(Oxford University Press. 15s.)

This third volume of the papers of Professor Warfield contains his historico-critical articles on the Person and work of Christ. It has been prepared according to his instructions by the committee appointed in his will. The articles are the Divine Message in the Old Testament; Misconceptions of Jesus, and Blasphemy of the Son of Man; Jesus's Alleged Confession of Sin; Jesus Christ; Schmiedel's Pillar-Passages; the 'Two Natures' and Recent Christological Speculation; Christless Christianity; the Twentieth-century Christ; the Essence of Christianity and the Cross of Christ. An appendix deals with the Supernatural Birth of Jesus, and a list is given of six other articles on Christology. The article on 'Christless Christianity' was called forth by Arthur Drew's 'Christ Myth.' Dr. Warfield feels that those who say Christianity can get along very well without Christ are like men sitting by a brook and reasoning that, since we have the brook, we do not need the spring from which it flows. Another article maintains that those who contend that their religion is better than the Christianity of the Cross cannot prove that theirs is the same religion. On their own showing it is not that. It is no small advantage to have the ripe work of such a scholar and thinker on Christology brought together in this volume.

*Essays in Christian Philosophy.* By Leonard Hodgson,  
M.A., Hon. D.C.L. (Longmans & Co. 9s.)

There are twelve essays in this volume, and every one is important and suggestive. The writer is Professor of Christian Apologetics in the General Theological Seminary in New York, and regards the publication of the essays as a midway stage in the development of his thought. He is becoming aware that he is growing into a more consistent and thoroughgoing philosophical position, but feels that he must grow a great deal before he can exhibit his thought as a systematic whole. Meanwhile, the two essays on Freedom form the nucleus of his philosophy. Our freedom is at present inchoate, imperfect, and irrational, but our hope is that one day we shall attain to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. 'Man is given by God a co-operative share in His creative activity, and he must rise up to this responsibility if he is to become himself.' The essays cover a wide range, from Birth-control and Christian Ethics, to

Original Sin and Baptism, Sacraments and the Reunion of Christendom. The last essay deals largely with Prayer, and expresses the conviction that 'the pursuit of philosophy will be helped, and not hindered, by combining with the habit of hard and accurate thinking the habit of "taking it to the Lord in prayer."'

*The Virgin Birth of Christ.* By J. Gresham Machen, D.D., Litt.D. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 15s.)

Dr. Machen has here expanded his Thomas Smyth Lectures and made use of important articles which he contributed to *The Princeton Theological Review*. He shows that the tradition of the Virgin Birth is just as fully established at the beginning of the second century as at its close, has an original place in the First and Third Gospels, and was plainly attested in oral and written Palestinian sources underlying those Gospels. The two Infancy narratives are independent, but not contradictory. Dr. Machen feels that there may be a belief in the Resurrection without a belief in the Virgin Birth—'such a half-way conviction is not likely to endure.' It forms an integral part of the New Testament presentation of Jesus. The subject is considered with scholarly care in all its bearings, and it is regarded as an aid to faith, 'an organic part of that majestic picture of Jesus which can be accepted most easily when it is taken as a whole.' We are grateful for such a powerful defence of the Birth stories of the Gospels.

*Our Heavenly Father.* By Peter Green, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. and 4s.) This study of 'the Nature and Doctrine of God' is a sequel to Canon Green's earlier book *Our Lord and Saviour*. He feels that 'increasing numbers of people are allowing God to pass altogether out of their lives.' He defines religion as 'a disinterested delight in God for His own sake.' 'In man's life, God is the "one thing needful."' Such love of God for His own sake will prove to be the best philanthropy. God can be known, and Canon Green urges us 'to shake off fear, and doubt, and hesitation, and to launch out boldly upon the ocean which is God.' 'Man and God may be said to fit one another as the key fits the lock.' Problems of Providence, prayer, miracles, pain, and suffering are discussed briefly, but in a really helpful way, and the sketch of Christian cosmology, in the closing pages, is a brief statement of Canon Green's own belief, which he finds 'good for thought and practice, good to think by and to live by.' The subject of the book is vital, and the treatment of it is impressive and practical.

*The Epic of the Old Testament.* By Arthur H. Wood, M.A. (H. Milford. 6s.) The literature of the Old Testament has here been 'sorted out, and the finest parts of it presented in chronological order, with brief historical notes to make clear the sequence of events to which the selected passages refer. The passages are grouped in two chief sections: History, which ranges from the beginning of

things down to the Greek and Roman ascendancy ; and Hebrew Wisdom, as it bore on all conditions of life. The appendix gives the Septuagint and the Vulgate versions of Isaiah liii., and there are useful notes on sources and dates, books on the Old Testament, empires of the ancient world, and the book of Daniel. Such a selection will do not a little to promote the intelligent reading of the Old Testament.

*The Dawning Epoch : Studies in Christian Sociology.* By Archibald Chisholm, D.Lit. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d.) The future of Western civilization gives thoughtful men no small ground for anxiety. All depends, Dr. Chisholm points out, on the degree in which we can make the ideals of the Kingdom of God effective. That is the power which can preserve things from decay, and can adjust the developing personality of man so that it may play its true part in the creation of a nobler civilization. World peace, personal expenditure and social well-being, the reform of the Stock Exchange, and Christian principles in industry are handled with skill and knowledge. The Protestant witness, with 'religion organized effectively and characterized by catholicity, apostolicity, sanctity, and unity of witness, should make a notable contribution to the new situation.' That is Dr. Chisholm's conclusion, and it gives ground for new hope and enterprise.

*The Church and the Bible.* By H. L. Goudge. (Longmans & Co. 4s.) The Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford seeks to exhibit the value of the Bible in many different ways, and especially in its bearing upon present controversies. 'Though neither the Bible nor the Church is infallible, they wonderfully supplement one another. Each is strong where the other is weak, and, if we give heed to both, we may hope to reach "moral" certainty about all that here we need to know.' Both Church and Bible are necessary for us. The Word of God which the Bible enshrines has created and preserves the Church. The Bible demands a progressive interpretation as the ages pass. Dr. Goudge takes Abraham as a type of faith, and the Exodus as the making of a nation bound up with God's purposes. He feels that 'the Roman Church has largely become a kingdom of the world. Not only is its morality injured by legalism, but its faith too ; what is called faith is often but the acceptance of statements at the word of command.' The chapter on the New Testament is important and suggestive ; so, indeed, is the whole book.

*The Study Bible : The General Epistles*, with new studies, by A. J. Gossip, D.D., and J. F. McFadyen, D.D. ; *Revelation*, with new studies by the Archbishop of Armagh and A. S. Peake, D.D. Edited by John Stirling. (Cassell & Co. 3s. each.) These are two valuable additions to *The Study Bible*. The names of the contributors ensure a warm welcome to their notes, and the editor gathers his excerpts

from great commentators, poets, and other writers, with real appreciation of what will be most attractive and helpful to students and to those who look for material for their hours of devotion. They are two rich volumes.—*The New Outlook and the Old Message*, by R. Alban Marsh (Skeffington & Son, 2s.), is a small set of really good and helpful sermons. God, Man, Jesus Christ, the World, the Purpose of God are some of the themes well thought out and set forth simply but impressively.—*Philip Cometh to Andrew*. By Bernard Clements, O.S.B. (Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d.) The Rector of St. Augustine's College, Kumasi, gave some of these sermons and addresses in England, others in West Africa. The Notes on Prayer were drawn up for Africans preparing for the priesthood, and will be of service to many in England. There are some pleasant references to work among natives, and the book is both spiritual and practical.—*Facing Up to Things*. By W. H. Slader, B.D. (Stockwell. 2s. 6d.) Nine sermons on subjects such as Life, Conversion, Pleasure, Perfection. They are always readable and practical, and have a homely touch which will please homely readers.—*The Faith of an English Churchman*. By Albert Mitchell. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d.) This is a layman's exposition of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, intended chiefly for younger readers. It is lucid, well thought out, broad-minded, and evangelical. Mr. Mitchell deprecates the use of the 'Real Presence,' 'as historically, and popularly, it conveys teaching foreign to Holy Writ. The Divine Presence in this sacrament is entirely spiritual.' It is a wise exposition, from which young Churchmen will gain much.—The New Testament in the Revised Version is now added to the *World's Classics* (2s.), and makes a very neat pocket edition, in clear though rather small type.—*Worship in Music*. (Abingdon Press. £1.50.) Three of these ten lectures were delivered by Bishop S. H. Hughes, the rest are by musical editors and other masters of the subject. Hymns and tunes, forms of service, anthems, and the duties of choirmasters and organists are all discussed in a practical way. The lectures are really a pleasure to read, and will do much to promote reverent and attractive services.

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THE Notes in the April number of *The Journal of Theological Studies* include Dr. Turner's 'Prolegomena to the *Testimonia* and *Ad Fortunatum* of St. Cyprian; the Vedas and Upanishads; the Didascalia; the Seven Seals in the Revelation; the Use of γράφω; Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Testament; Alliteration in Hebrew Poetry; Job vi. 25. Professor Turner has accumulated and sifted much material, and hopes that he may some day produce a new text of the *Testimonia*. He pays tribute to Dom Leander Ramsay, Abbot of Downside, who had made large collections with a view to an edition of St. Cyprian, and hopes that some of his *reliquiae* may be published as a memorial of a great scholar.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

*Luther and the Reformation.* By James Mackinnon, Ph.D., D.D. Vol. IV. : Vindication of the Movement (1530-46). (Longmans & Co. 16s.)

PROFESSOR MACKINNON has laid all students of the Reformation under lasting obligation by the laborious years he has spent at close quarters with Luther and his writings. He has learned, not only to appreciate and admire, but to criticize at many points. That adds to the value of his work, especially in the third act of the Reformation, from 1530 to 1546 (the year of Luther's death). In this later phase 'the belligerent spirit of the Reformer appears unabated. His irascibility, his violent intolerance, his unbending dogmatism increase, in fact, with the years, and find unstinted expression in his duels with his opponents within the evangelical Church as well as with the Romanists and the sects. He virtually becomes the infallible standard of the evangelical faith, and treats all dissidents, whether Sacramentarian, Sectarian, Romanist, or even professedly Lutheran, as inveterate and diabolical enemies of the truth. Zwinglians, Anabaptists, Spirituals, Antinomians, as well as Papists, are pilloried and denounced with equal vehemence.' The volume opens with the failure of the Augsburg Confession. Melanthon exerted himself to win the favour of Campeggio, but the legate has no intention of accepting anything short of absolute submission to the Pope, and that was impossible for the Reformers to give. The account of the Anabaptist movement and the Munster madness, aggravated by the persecutions to which these fanatics were subjected, is a deplorable story. Luther maintained his battle with the Papacy to the end of his life. His writings show 'an almost morbid hatred of Rome. He allowed it to overmaster his reason and to betray him into some of the worst excesses of controversial acrimony and vehemence.' Dr. Mackinnon regrets that the spirit of the Lutheran Reformation was 'so exclusively dogmatic, so hostile to rational views, so little inspired by a tolerant charity.' The concluding chapters, on 'Luther and his Work' and his 'National and Extra-national Influence,' set him clearly before us, a prophet who rediscovered and vindicated the gospel, and delivered the Church from the Papal tyranny. His action in reference to the landgrave's bigamy gravely compromised the Evangelical movement. The translation of the Bible was a tremendous task, and he showed a real scientific spirit in his effort to perfect it and in his collaboration with many distinguished scholars. As a preacher he was terribly nervous at the start, but, ere long, preaching became a passion. His sermons were expository and became the model of the evangelical pulpit, and revolutionized preaching in the Roman Catholic Church. His hymns were an

inspiration. 'Ein feste Burg' is 'unquestionably a masterpiece of religious emotion, into which he put, as Lucke expresses it, "the quintessence of his life."' Luther stands pre-eminent for Protestant Germany. He was German to the core in character, temperament, feeling. He was patriot as well as prophet, the champion of the national spirit in its revulsion from an alien ecclesiastical régime. He created an epoch in religious history, and stands out as a hero of faith who moved mountains.

*Masaryk of Czechoslovakia.* By Donald A. Lowrie. (Humphrey Milford. 8s. 6d.)

The eightieth birthday of the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic called forth many tributes to a man of lowly birth who had won liberty for his native country and for eleven years taught it to adopt his own motto, 'Truth will conquer.' His father was a teamster-serf, his mother a housemaid in Vienna. She was really her boy's chief inspiration, and stirred him up to make his way from a blacksmith's shop to a professor's chair, and finally to the seat in the Austrian parliament where his eyes were opened to the inner decay of the whole political structure. His fearless attack on Aehrenthal, the Emperor's Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave him an assured position of leadership among the smaller races in the empire, and when the Great War broke out it was his influence that convinced the Allies that there must be a Czechoslovak Republic. As we follow his course in Europe and America it seems something like a miracle that he escaped with his life. It is a noble story, and not the least important event in it was his marriage to the American girl whom he met when he was a student at Leipzig and who proved herself a never-failing source of strength to him in all his labours for his country. The introduction, by Mr. Basil Mathews, describes Masaryk as he saw him mount his horse at Prague for his daily ride, and does honour to his 'stalwart, chivalrous, freedom-and-peace-loving citizenship.' Mr. Lowrie has enjoyed some measure of intimacy with the President and that has enriched his work at many points.

*Froude and Carlyle: A Study of the Froude-Carlyle Controversy.* By Waldo H. Dunn. (Longmans & Co. 15s.)

Professor Dunn is familiar to readers of this REVIEW by his articles, and they will know how to appreciate the critical skill and the scrupulous care with which he has investigated one of the sharpest literary controversies of recent times. Every page of the material about Carlyle which Froude wrote or edited has been subjected to microscopic examination. 'In the whole history of English biography, perhaps no other work has been the object of such organized, long-continued, and bitter criticism, or enmeshed in such a tissue of misrepresentation.' Professor Dunn has been in communication with Froude's son and daughter, he has had access to important

sources of information, and has spent endless labour in comparing the works in question. He discusses every side of the many problems involved, and has printed important literary documents by which readers can form their own judgement on Froude's work. He admits that it is not free from minor errors such as his critics themselves fall into, but he holds that it 'emerges from the fires of criticism unscathed.' Ruskin, who knew Carlyle intimately, deprecated his friend Professor Norton's acrimonious attack on Froude, and felt that it was 'possible to fall into many small errors, and yet be right in tendency all the while, and entirely right in the end.' Professor Dunn says Froude 'was a stalwart pioneer who hewed his way through unexplored regions ; a man of courage, who refused to allow himself to be thwarted by virulent and unfair opposition.' 'He made an end of the incredible panegyric. More even than Boswell, he portrayed his subject at full length. His errors of judgement were such as are inevitable when an intimate friend acts as biographer. In attempting to shield Carlyle he laid himself open to malicious attack. Fortunately, however, for both Carlyle and himself, he revealed enough to ensure that the truth would be ultimately established.'

*Life in the Middle Ages.* Selected, translated, and annotated by G. G. Coulton. Vol. IV. : Monks, Friars, and Nuns. With twelve illustrations. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Coulton's three earlier volumes on the Middle Ages dealt with Religion, Folk-lore, and Superstition ; Chronicles, Science, and Art ; Men and Manners. The concluding volume, on Monks, Friars, and Nuns, is of great interest. It is increased by a hundred pages more than appeared in the one-volume edition, including the tragic story 'How Friar Michael was burned,' and 'Abbot, Lady, and Knight,' from *Petit Jean de Saintré*, which introduces us to what is, perhaps, the earliest French novel. The extracts begin with St. Jerome, and close with Sir Thomas More's 'An Impostor Exposed.' The introductions to each passage add greatly to their interest, and, though Dr. Coulton thinks that he might have been better advised to arrange the passages in chronological order, rather than according to the subject-matter, there is no little advantage in having such a general view of monastic life as we find in this volume. There is no work which makes life in the Middle Ages stand out so vividly as this, and the fact that the picture is made up from contemporary records gives it peculiar value and interest.

*Twenty-four Hymns of the Western Church.* Edited by Edward Henry Blakeney. (Eric Partridge, at the Scholartis Press. 16s.)

This book is inscribed to 'Coulson Kernahan, a kindly friend and a

wise and understanding critic.' It gives the Latin text of twenty-four hymns, with English versions, notes, and appendices. In one or two instances a slight verbal change has been made, as in Neale's 'what social joys are there,' which somewhat grates; the adopted reading, 'what joys await us there,' seems an improvement. Neale's pre-eminence is seen from the fact that twelve of the translations are his. 'At his best he is unrivalled.' Cardinal Newman contributes two renderings; Edward Caswall, whose versions keep close to the original, yet read easily, is represented by three translations. Crashaw's rendering of the *Dies irae* is chosen. *The Cambridge History of English Literature* says 'it has many beauties and fine touches, though it fails to represent the masculine rhythm of the original.' Mr. Blakeney adds: 'True; but every English version of the *Dies* necessarily falls short of the august original.' Many will be interested to compare Crashaw's version with that by Dr. Irons. Mr. Blakeney's little Latin 'Invocatio' is very happy, and his translation of 'Verbum Dei, Deo natum,' for which he could not find a version that satisfied him, is a distinct addition to the volume. The revival of interest in Latin hymnody ensures this volume a welcome. We pass, as Neale puts it, along the far-stretching vista of hymns, from the sublime self-containedness of Ambrose to the full blaze of glory which surrounds Adam of St. Victor, to whom we owe a hundred sequences, of which fifty at least are unequalled save by the *Dies irae*. The notes are both critical and historical, and two appendices give the text of the *Te Deum*, with notes and six verses of 'Jesu dulcis memoria.' 'Beautiful as it undoubtedly is, as well as one of the most evangelical of all mediaeval hymns, it is a trifle monotonous.' The edition is limited to 260 copies, printed on 'Glastonbury' antique laid paper.

*Poets and Playwrights : Shakespeare, Jonson, Spenser, Milton.*

By Elmer Edgar Stoll. (Minnesota : University Press. \$3.)

Professor Stoll has gained international fame as a Shakespearian scholar, and his two studies of *Cleopatra* and *Henry V* are illuminating. No creature of Shakespeare's pen is 'so many-coloured, so romantic, and yet so real' as Cleopatra. Like other heroines of the plays, she is 'enveloped in poetry, but through it we see her from every side, and are dazzled by her many facets.' Her character holds together as a living thing. The value of *Henry V* lies in its pictures of life and character, and in the patriotic passion which runs through the play. The most remarkable thing about the king is the way that Shakespeare reforms him and yet contrives to keep him human and recognizable. Henry is a knight and a hero, but still a friendly good fellow, with his joke before and in the midst of battle. He is his country's notion of their hero-king. 'As a king, Henry is made to suit the Globe; as a man, to suit the English people.' The essay on 'Shakespeare and the Moderns' shows that 'he is neither of the

study nor even of the stage. Ibsen is a little of the first, Corneille and Racine a little of the second ; but it is no small part of Shakespeare's glory to be free from the limitations of both.' His stories turned in his hands to something new and strange. ' His persons were great persons, fair women, and brave men, whose faults and whose falls touch us more deeply, though not more nearly, than those of ordinary people.' The study of Spenser brings out the flow of his rhetoric. The thread of the story is never lost. Within the screen and cloud of verbal music everything is simple and serene. Milton was essentially a Puritan who believed, as did Cromwell, that the race was to the swift, the battle to the strong. He was a reformer, a warrior, though with the pen, the lyre. The book will give much delight to lovers of English literature on both sides of the Atlantic, and will do not a little to bind together the two nations that glory in that common heritage.

*The Day Before Yesterday.* By James Moffatt, D.D.  
(Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

Dr. Moffatt takes 1860 as the rise of the day before yesterday and makes it cover the following thirty years for his survey of English literature as it bears on faith and religion. The *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859, and next year *Essays and Reviews* presented the new methods of science and history in their application to the Bible. Those who thought traditional Christianity was outgrown set themselves to forecast what may be called a Third Religion. Dr. Moffatt feels that Whitman was feeling for such a religion on lines parallel to those of Ibsen. The attempts would never have been made at all save for some failure in the mission and message of contemporary Christianity. There was a protest against the idea of God, though some great European voices sounded another note. The tendency was to take nature for God, yet there were other tendencies making for an open mind, a clean character, and an unselfish devotion to things just and pure and lovely. Whilst old views seemed to be passing away, an instinctive faith began to realize that 'Jesus must not be left out of the Christian religion, that faith was at the heart of it a glad thing.' The fable or parable assumed a curious prominence in the interpretation of religion, and some interesting specimens of it are given in the last chapter of this unique and impressive survey of thirty memorable years.

*A History of Europe.* (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.) This volume first appeared in 1927, and is now reprinted with the European history brought down to include the World War and the Treaty Settlement which followed. Mr. Plunket has written the history of the Middle Ages from the greatness and the decline of Rome to the Renaissance ; Professor Mowat follows with 'Europe and the Modern World.' Chronologies, genealogies, lists of Popes and of Presidents of the United States and of France, with a wealth of illustrations selected by Mr. Johnson, printer to the University, make this a volume of unusual interest and value both for students

and busy men and women who want to have a clear and reliable summary of the history of Europe, including a general view of events in Latin America, the United States, and the Far East. It is a work that deserves a place on every one's bookshelf.

*W. H. T. G. to his Friends.* (S.P.C.K. 5s.) Miss Padwick's beautiful biography of Temple Gairdner of Cairo prepared the way for this volume of letters and informal papers which have been called his 'greatest legacy.' His wife is its editor, and the selection begins with his first sight of the desert near Port Said, which seemed 'a sort of fag-end of God's earth,' yet had 'a sort of weird influence' upon him. From the Near East the letters pass to a survey of the world. He sees the sea, he writes charmingly to children, sketches portraits, shares the lives of his friends, broods over deeper things. Then he gives estimates of books and authors and music which are marked by discernment and literary and musical taste. We get close to a man whom it is a privilege to know so intimately—a great Christian who writes to a friend: 'Jesus Christ has a scheme for your life and mine; a scheme which includes the very last moments of our earthly life, and which will bring us over into the life of eternity.'

The New Knowledge Press, Perranporth, Cornwall, sends us Dr. Dexter's three books (2s.net), which are printed in bold type and have many illustrations which light up the text.—*Civilization in Britain 2000 B.C.* argues that the Britons who opposed the Roman invasions were not the barbarians they are generally considered to be. Dr. Dexter thinks it probable that the Egyptians were colonists here. It is a really interesting study of our past.—*The Pagan Origin of Fairs* ascribes them to dates from times long before the saints. 'An intensive study of fairs is a new instrument in historical research, and seems likely to yield useful and surprising results.' We are glad to see that Dr. Dexter hopes to use this knowledge to explain certain incidents or facts which may throw light on heathenism and heathen gods as the parish feast sometimes assists in the identification of a Christian saint.—Much interesting and out of the way information is given in *The Sacred Stone*. Stones were thought to be alive and needed nourishment; they had healing properties, and holes were made through which a child could be passed for the cure of some complaint or a limb inserted. Stones were washed, and the sick cured by being put into the water. Such are but a few of the venerable superstitions connected with stones. There are about forty large pages and twenty illustrations to each book.

*A People's Book of Saints.* By J. Alick Bonuquet. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d.) Thirty-seven saints meet in this pleasing volume. The selection begins with Ignatius and Polycarp in the second century, and St. Vincent de Paul and St. Francis de Sales in the seventeenth. The most pathetic pages are given to the girl martyrs, Felicitas and Perpetua, but the saints who have woven themselves into English history—Alban, Martin of Tours, Hilda, Cuthbert, Bede, John of Beverley, Becket, and others—have their places of honour,

in the record. The sketches really form a succession of ecclesiastical portraits, painted in bright colours and rich in incentives to service for God and others. The full-page illustrations are very attractive.

*China's Revolution from the Inside.* By R. L. Lo, Ph.D. (Abingdon Press. £2.) This book justifies its title. Dr. Lo is one of the most influential and constructive leaders among his countrymen, and has held several important Government posts. He gives a bird's-eye view of the Revolution, and of the Student movement, the anti-opium and other influences at work in China. He feels that the keystone in China's rejuvenation is to be found in education and religion, and asks whether the Church will mobilize all her forces, foreign and Chinese alike, for the upbuilding of a new China which is after the heart of Jesus.

*D. H. Lawrence. A First Study.* By Stephen Potter. (Jonathan Cape. 5s.) Mr. Potter only knew Lawrence from his books, which he had been studying for twelve months before Lawrence's death on March 3, 1930. He regards him as 'the great living writer of this generation, who has had the power, in a sense which separates him from all his contemporaries, to create a world.' His analysis of the various works leaves one bewildered at such an estimate. Lawrence was 'born at Eastwood in Nottinghamshire. His father was a miner, a formidable drinker; his mother was a real lady, who formed with her son a sort of league against a bad husband.' That devotion to his mother is the bright side of his life, but Mr. Potter does not make us want to know more about his books.

*Joan of Arc; or, the Story of the Girl-Warrior.* By Commissioner Mildred Duff and Noel Hope. (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies. 2s. 6d.) This is a bright biography of the French maid who is one of the world's saints and heroines. She never went to school. Her mother was her teacher, and Joan says, 'Before I was seven I had learned all a child needs to know—to be good.' The battle of Agincourt was fought when she was three years old, and ten years later she became impressed with a sense of her mission to deliver France. The way was strewn with difficulties. The Governor of Vaucouleurs, to whom she turned, only said, 'Box the girl's ears and send her home.' But she was bent on her mission, and the world soon rang with her victory, and the terrible fate that befell her at Rouen. The story is here told with insight and sympathy. She died with the name of Jesus on her lips, and to-day her words and deeds 'stand out in ever-increasing beauty, a monument to the glory of the Saviour whom she loved so well.' Many good illustrations add to the interest of the book.—*The Miniature Biographies* (3d. each) are attractive little Lives, with a portrait on the outside and well printed. One is the story of a prisoner's friend, another 'The Saved Railway Guard.' There is a Japanese Lady, a Girl Collegiate, a Swedish Warrior, and other prominent figures in the Salvation Army. The series is one to be proud of.

## GENERAL

*The Universe Around Us.* By Sir James Jeans, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.)

THIS book was published last September, and more than 25,000 copies were sold within eight months. Arrangements were also made for its translation into French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, and Czechoslovakian. 'The Study of Astronomy,' with which it opens, describes Galileo's telescope of 1610, which revealed the wonders of Jupiter and gave man an optical means of studying the universe. That study unfolds its wonder in these chapters. We explore the sky, and, from a position in space somewhere near the sun, we watch the stars moving past with speeds about a thousand times that of an express train. Yet the stellar traffic is so little crowded that the chance of encountering another star is almost negligible : six specks of dust in Waterloo Station would represent the extent to which it is occupied by stars in its most crowded parts. Then Sir James Jeans helps us to explore the atom—the minute structures on which the whole material universe is built. 'Exploring in Time' is even more marvellous. The sun's present store of atoms, at the present rate of breakage, would last for fifteen million million years. Then we see how the stars and planets have been formed, and find that twenty-four hours' emission of radiation reduces the weight of the sun by 860,000 million tons. It is a universe of wonders, through which we follow Sir James Jeans with bated breath.

*Clio, a Muse, and other Essays.* By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d.)

This is a new edition in which *Clio*, who first appeared as a youthful rebel, is sent to 'parade the streets a little longer with its flag of revolt, but in company with a kind and elderly policeman,' the Inaugural Lecture which the writer delivered as Regius Professor of History in 1927. Two other pieces are added—*John Bunyan* and *History and Fiction*. The address on Bunyan was delivered in 1928, when the world paid him homage. 'Seldom has there been such an exaltation of the humble and meek. He shines one of the brightest stars in the firmament of English literature. Yet he had no other ambition in anything he wrote save to turn poor sinners to repentance.' Mr. Trevelyan looks on history as an open Bible, and sets himself to make the young student feel that it is at once a stimulation and a satisfaction of intellectual curiosity ; a process of thought, not a mere learning by rote. 'To hold our interest, you must tell us something we believe to be true about the men who once walked the earth. It is the fact about the past that is poetic ; just because it really happened, it gathers round it all the inscrutable mystery of life and death and time.' The book makes us feel how happy Cambridge students are to sit at the feet of such a professor.

*Adjectives and other Words.* By Ernest Weekly, M.A.  
(John Murray. 5s.)

This is a collection of essays which no lover of words should miss. It begins with the Speaker of the House of Commons, who said recently: 'Much of my time is spent in striking out adjectives.' We see the adjective used as 'packing material,' and get some timely counsel against 'unconsidered indulgence' in such words. Then we plunge into the 'Dictionaries,' and see that Johnson's two ponderous volumes went far to accomplish in the eighteenth century what the Italian and French Academies had unsuccessfully attempted in the seventeenth. The wonders of the *Oxford Dictionary* are opened up, and Professor Weekly is able to suggest points at which it may be further enriched. 'National Sports and Metaphors' is a fruitful field, and 'London Street Names' furnish some interesting pages. It is an altogether delightful study, and an index of twenty-four closely packed columns shows how widely the philologer's net is cast.

*Philosophy without Metaphysics.* By Edmond Holmes.  
(Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Holmes is seeking to free philosophy from metaphysics, which, he holds, has arrested for centuries the progress of physical science and frozen theology into the rigidity of 'orthodox dogma.' He takes Bradley as the representative of logical metaphysics, and Professor Alexander as the thoughtful and courageous exponent of empirical metaphysics, and points out what he regards as the weakness of their attempts to understand the universe by intellectual methods. His own view is given in his chapter on 'Intuitive Philosophy.' If we would know 'self—the higher self, the real self, the Self which is beyond all selves—we must try to fathom our own depths, to realize our own possibilities, in obedience to the law of growth, which is the master law of life.' The lover of wisdom will try to widen the range and increase the penetrative power of consciousness. He will try to raise the surface of consciousness, and, by heart co-operating with mind, instinct with intellect, vision with logic, will set in motion the reservoirs of subconscious reason, of unsystematized thought, which are hidden in each of us.

*The Aeneid of Virgil in English Verse.* Vol. IV. Books x.-xii.  
By Arthur S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan & Co. 5s.)

Dr. Way has now put into the hands of scholars, and of the wider circle of English readers, his fine translation of the *Aeneid*. His rhyming couplets have caught the spirit of the Latin, and it is easy to compare his version with the original, which is printed on the opposite page. Virgil's position as the supreme Latin poet was established in his lifetime, and succeeding ages have borne witness to his mastery of his art and to the learning that lies behind it. He had finished the *Aeneid*, but intended to spend three years in revising

it, and, when death overtook him, directed his friends to destroy the poem. Augustus overruled that order, and thus preserved the great poem for the world.

*Begging the Moon's Pardon.* By Coulson Kernahan. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.) This is a companion volume to *The Garden of God*, which has been read with eager interest by many lovers of nature. Its fancies and studies begin in the moonlight and lead us into the garden, with butterflies feasting on the gorgeous buddleia. Dogs and cats, flowers and treeland, a Sussex garden and bird-bath, all are here, and make a world of enchantment. There is humour and human nature, and every study tempts us on to the next and makes us hope that some more volumes are shaping in Mr. Kernahan's mind. It is certainly pure delight to turn these pages.

*Calm Weather.* A Volume of Essays. By Gilbert Thomas. (Chapman & Hall. 6s.) These essays have made their mark in many literary journals, and it is a pleasure to have them gathered together in a volume of real charm. The autobiographical note in not a few of them adds much to their interest, and the account of his apprenticeship in a London publisher's firm appeals to us. So do the East Anglican studies ; the childhood scenes in Leicester, with its vanishing Square, its Sundays of long ago, its schoolboy memories, and its praise of 'Cross-country Journeys.' It is finished work, but never loses its homeliness and its eager outlook on life. It is a book which lends new beauty to many country scenes and leaves one feeling how much richer the world might be to us if our eyes were open like those of this clever and genial essayist.

*The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio.* Translated by J. M. Rigg. (Dent & Sons. Two volumes. 2s. net per volume.) Mr. Edward Hutton writes a most interesting introduction to this translation, which was the first complete translation to pass into general circulation and was rendered with careful accuracy and much spirit. It has won its way on its merits into the Everyman's Library. *The Decameron* is 'full of people, of living people—that is the secret of its immortality.' Boccaccio deals with life and with life alone. With him, 'sexual immorality usurps, or seems to usurp, a place out of all proportion to its importance in life.' His beautiful women are nearly all adulteresses, and the husbands are fools. His work was received with enthusiasm, but did not escape the knife of the Church, though it was never suppressed. 'It is probably the greatest, though not quite the first, prose work in the Tuscan language,' and has 'justified itself, as every work of the sort must do, by its appeal to mankind.'

*Rogue Herries,* by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan & Co., 10s. 6d.), is a Cumberland story steeped in its scenery, its manners, its seventeenth-century superstitions, and its exciting times when the Young Pretender was in Carlisle and his fortunes seemed hanging in the balance. One of the most dramatic pictures is that of Rogue Herries

and his gipsy wife listening to George Whitefield preaching in the Square at Keswick. It gives a real insight into the strange power he exerted on his audience. But religion takes quite a minor place in the story. Rogue Herries himself is the chief study, and a strange character he is, with his sudden rages, his strong affections, his evil living, and the romance of his love for Mirrabell. His son David and he are like brothers ; and the Herries brothers, the country squires, the peasants, and the statesmen farmers all add to the interest of the story. It never loses its hold on one's imagination, and those who know Cumberland best will be most impressed by Mr. Walpole's pictures of nature and human nature. It is a real masterpiece, and does not fail to deal with the darker sides of life and morals in those far-back days.—*Whiteoaks*. By Mazo de la Roche. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.) The Canadian Whiteoaks, with their horse-breeding head, his farmer brother, and the two artists, Eden and Finch, make a wonderful study of life in many phases. The central figure of the family is the centenarian grandmother, who is as masterful and keen-witted an old lady as one can conceive, and who sets the family by the ears through her surprising will. Her two sons and her daughter are minor characters ; it is the grandsons and their wives who play the chief part in the story. Renny's love for Alayne comes to a happy issue after many testing moments, and Finch, the musician, is going to be the good genius of the house. The country scenes are varied by the New York episodes, and the grandmother's rehearsal of her death is an amazing contrast to the way she finishes life after a game of backgammon. Miss de la Roche has given us a story of extraordinary variety and sustained interest. It has many scenes, beginning with the horse show and including the escapades of Finch and the little orchestra in which he is pianist, and all are alive and full of excitement. We hope to meet some of the Whiteoaks again.—*Turn Back the Leaves*, by E. M. Delafield (Macmillan & Co., 7s. 6d.), has special interest as a picture of a Roman Catholic family with its marriage problems and its outlook on society. The mother's moral breakdown is a terrible blow to the husband, and her illegitimate child pays no small penalty. The whole circle is affected by the struggle between rigid belief and the force of circumstances, and it is no easy thing for Veronica to marry a Protestant. Her father's religious mania, her stepmother's attitude, and the nurse's devotion to her creed make up a study of unusual attraction for all who wish to see how a large family faces its critical situations.

*The Town of Tombarel*, by William J. Locke (John Lane, 7s. 6d.), is the latest work of a fine master who had made life in France a special study. We owe him much for his long succession of clever stories. The friendship between the Maire of Creille and the English architect opens up a world of French intrigues and love affairs which are of never-failing interest and variety. French morals puzzle the Englishman, but they furnish rich material for a clever observer, and Mr. Locke weaves his chronicles together in a very clever and vivid way.

There are not a few tragedies, and Tombarel has a large part in them, but it is a pleasure to find the veteran mayor's last days all lighted up by the advent of his little grandson.—*Chapter the Last.* By Knut Hamsun. (Knopf. 10s. 6d.) The writer was born in Norway in 1860, and was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1920. His latest novel has been translated by Arthur G. Chater, and is the romance of a sanatorium and a young Norwegian farmer whose love affairs are tragic. The life at the sanatorium is no way attractive, but it is told with quiet realism and gives a picture of ambitions and intrigues which light up the whole scene. The style is simple, but luminous ; the translation reads easily and seems to do full justice to the Norwegian original.—*The Mammon of Unrighteousness.* By P. C. Wren. (Murray. 7s. 6d.) Mr. Wren has struck a new vein. He has left the Foreign Legion, though he has three soldiers and a battle scene, but the interest of this story circles round Mrs. Dashwood Coxe and her son, who suffers, as the Harley Street specialist puts it, from mother-complex. Algernon is swayed by her strong will, and makes sad shipwreck of his life. There is a terrible trial for murder, drawn out in all its vivid stages, and a strange after-witness that would have changed the whole course of the trial if only it had been available. The story is a pitiful one, and shows Mr. Wren's powers in quite different surroundings from *Beau Geste* and its companions. It is certainly exciting and dramatic enough to bear them company.—*Three Daughters.* By Jane Dashwood. (Murray. 7s. 6d.) This is the first novel of an accomplished critic and essayist who writes under this *nom de plume*—a chronicle of three sisters, with their love affairs and the story of their married life. It is the volume 'chosen by the Book Society,' and there can be no question of the literary merit or the sustained interest of the story. Lady Pomfret is not an ideal mother, and her anxiety to find her girls good husbands is cleverly described. Lydia's love for Julian Carr comes to nothing through a series of misunderstandings. Her first lover wins her at last, but disaster comes to his fortunes. Her sisters have their husbands and children, but life is far from easy for either of them. The interest of the book lies largely in the contrast between manners before the war and after it, and there is a touch of 'vanity of vanities' in the retrospect which the three married ladies make together before the curtain falls.—*The Woman of Andros.* By Thornton Wilder. (Longmans & Co. 6s.) The first part of this story is based on Terence's comedy, *The Andria.* Chrysis is a courtesan from Alexandria who has come to live in the island of Brynos. Her banquets for young men, her wonderful recitations of Greek masterpieces, and her group of helpless dependants, lame, deaf, insane, make a strangely vivid study. Her little sister's love is a pathetic story which seems about to end happily when death draws down the curtain. The girl's lover, Panphilus, and the fierce prejudice of a Greek family against such a union for their son are powerfully described in a book of which every sentence has a charm and unfolds the thought and life of an Aegean island after the great period of Greek civilization is over.

*The Curate and his Circle*, by Estelle Gwynne (Epworth Press, 2s.), is a romance of London life. The doctor is the hero of the story, but the two parsons are a fine pair, and the ladies are as lively and devoted as the men. There is much cricket excitement and no little happy love-making in this charming and bracing story.—*A Third Round of Tales*. Selected by H. A. Treble. (H. Milford. 2s.) These are eight tales selected with much skill from Washington Irving, John M. Wilson, Tolstoy, Morris, Bret Harte, Wells, Chesterton. ‘The Centurion’s Escape,’ published in *Once a Week* in 1863, is anonymous, and is worthy to rank with its notable seven companions in a rich and varied collection.—Mr. Stockwell sends us two plays and three stories for children : *The Acceptable Time* revolves round the life of a Greek who is led to faith by St. Paul ; *The Striking Contrast* is a missionary play drawn from Central African life ; *Moonlight Secrets* and *Stories for Young Folk* are bright and well-illustrated fairy-tales ; *Christmas Wishes* is a story for small children.—*Billy of the Wolf Cubs*, by Ethel Talbot, and *Winsome Winnie*, by Marian I. Hurrell (Epworth Press, 9d. each), are books that children will love. Stories and pictures are really charming.

*Philip’s Crown Atlas* (G. Philip & Son, 3s. 6d.), has forty-eight maps, size 7½ by 9 inches, coloured in a way that brings out the divisions of counties, departments, and States very clearly, and portraying the latest political changes and alterations in place-names and boundaries. The boundaries of Czechoslovakia are well shown, and there is a consulting index which covers forty-eight closely printed columns, and an index showing the principal countries. It is a new atlas, an ideal one both in shape, type, and colouring.—*Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*. (Epworth Press. 3s.) Mr. Cocker and Mr. Malton Murray have drawn up a record of temperance work during the last fifty years, with many portraits and a *Who’s Who* of leading workers. The Rev. L. M. Isitt was the apostle of the movement, and for years the largest halls were packed to hear him. The contribution made by the various Churches to the movement is clearly set forth in a book which will give new courage to temperance workers wherever it goes.

*Twelfth Night ; or, What You Will*. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.) Shakespeare was thirty-eight when he wrote this play. He had behind him a record of comedy prosperously attempted, and stood on the brink of that dark kingdom of tragedy which he had yet to explore and to conquer if he could. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch says that now and again we can point to some definite piece of another man’s writing and show that Shakespeare used it, but we learn with wonder that he could pounce upon some passage and turn good prose into great poetry. Sir Arthur’s introduction brings out the features of the play, and the notes, stage history, emendations of the text, and glossary are just what one wants for enjoying ‘the politest of Shakespeare’s comedies.’

## Periodical Literature

### BRITISH

**The Hibbert Journal** (April).—‘Russian Communism as a New Religion’ is an article in Russian translated for the *Hibbert Journal*. The writer holds that Communism is a genuine religion, with all the methods, merits, and defects of a religion. ‘The complex of agitational slogans flung at the Russian masses has been refracted as a new religious sense.’ It has created its ceremonial or ritual and has begun the deification of the actors in the early period. The article forces one to think, and very largely to disagree with its tone and conclusions. Professor de Selincourt writes on Dr. Bridges’s *Testament of Beauty*. ‘Our century, at least, has not heard its like before.’ ‘Some Intimations of the Soul’s Destiny,’ by Miss Rowell; ‘The Dignity of Labour,’ by Sir John Marriott; ‘The Leisure Problem,’ ‘Art and Recreation,’ and ‘Religion as a Value Experience’ are other valuable features of this number.

**Expository Times** (April).—In an important article on ‘God and Mr. Middleton Murry,’ Canon Raven shows that his dilemma, either Catholicism and Jesus as divine, or the total denial of Christianity, is based upon a fallacy. Professor Gordon brings out ‘The Contribution of Germany to Old Testament Study,’ with special reference to Herder, the poet-preacher of Weimar, Gesenius, Ewald, Eichhorn, Wellhausen, and Gressman. He hopes that among the younger scholars a second Eichhorn may arise who shall point the way to the Highest Criticism—that of spirit and truth.—(May.)—The Dean of Peterborough writes on ‘It is Finished.’ Psalm xxii., the great Passion Psalm, throws a new light upon that cry from the cross. There can surely be no doubt that St. John recognized in this word ‘what is the essence of all evangelical preaching, the proclamation of the completed sacrifice, the “finished work of Christ.”’ The Rev. F. J. Rae, dealing with ‘Education and Religion,’ holds that religion cannot be taught by catechetical dogma, and is glad that the ‘Shorter Catechism’ is vanishing from the Scotch schools. ‘The Doctrine of Providence,’ by Rev. Norman Hook, warns against such an antithesis between natural and supernatural as will amount to a dualism. If the net result is a more limited view of Providence, ‘we are left with a universe, rational in design, not capricious, truly a universe, and not without evidence that it is a splendid training-ground for the development of character.’

**The Modern Churchman** (April).—The first Note embodies the opinion of a distinguished French scholar on the reconciliation

between Italy and the Pope. On the religious side the Vatican appears to gain much; but, on the other hand, 'the Prisoner of the Vatican' had a greater moral prestige than the protégé of Italy. Nor have the Catholic nations any wish to let themselves subserve the political and economic interests of Italy. The Benefices (Patronage) Measure which has occupied the attention of the Church Assembly is criticized, and there is a Note on 'Voluntary Clergy.' There are laymen eminent in philosophy, literature, and science whose presence in the ministry might restore to the Church 'some of that influence and power of guidance which we seem to be losing.'

**Journal of Theological Studies** (January).—J. R. Mozley gives 'A New Text of the Story of the Cross,' which tells the legend of the three seeds placed in the mouth of Adam at his death down to the Crucifixion. Dr. C. H. Turner contributes Notes on the eighth book of *Apostolic Constitutions*, which has long had a peculiar fascination for him. He does not know whether the opportunity will ever come to weld into a single whole his various contributions to particular aspects of the problem, but these examinations of the readings will be of great value to any one who has to deal with the subject.

**Church Quarterly** (April).—Dr. Theodore Robinson writes on 'The Death of Christ.' The Christian gospel offers an atonement, not man-made, but God-made. Every faith must have an atonement at its centre, a means whereby sin may be eliminated. 'Other faiths offer such an atonement through futile human effort; in the Cross of Jesus the Christian gospel presents one effected by divine love. Nor is the price paid a small one . . . it is the very heart of God Himself.' The Bishop of Gloucester, in 'The Christian Ministry,' thinks that Dr. Streeter, in his 'brilliant work,' *The Primitive Church*, forgets that he has to explain the remarkable unity which prevailed in the Church as early as the year A.D. 180, when the government of the local communities by bishops, presbyters, and deacons was universal. Dr. Headlam holds that the historic Episcopate comes to us with great authority, but never with so great an authority as to take away the freedom of the Church's corporate life. The Church still retains its creative power and can adapt its inherited rule to the conditions of the present day.

**The Congregational Quarterly** (April).—The editorials on an Order of Preachers and efficient teaching are valuable. Mr. Snashill pleads for 'a reasonable Evangelicalism.' Our problems can only be solved by the application of the principles of the Kingdom of Heaven to our earthly needs. Mr. Painter finds 'The Soul of a Ministry' in the inner life which is its background. Mr. Powicke's 'Personal Reminiscence of F. D. Maurice' is his 'tribute of gratitude to the man who, above all others, rescued the faith from the dust of a dead orthodoxy, and restored its original image and superscription.'

**Cornhill** (May).—Lawrie Magnus has an article on *The Testament of Beauty*, which brings out the unique interest of a work 'so rich in poetic ornament and in scientific knowledge' from a man of eighty-five. It is a fine tribute, read at the Royal Society of Literature not long before the Poet Laureate's death. The Polychromata Series is a special feature of the fiction in this and recent numbers, and Mr. Carr's 'Intellectual and Artistic World of Paris' brings out the clarity of thought, the enthusiasm, and the sense of form of those who produce, and the artistic sympathy, the critical balance, and penetration of those who look and read and listen.

**Science Progress** (April).—'Modern Seed Testing' is an article of special interest. 'Seeds, if they have any value are living things, and as such are peculiarly sensitive to environment.' 'The Oyster-Catcher' is a bird article which pleads for the note-book, binoculars, and camera as at least as important, and perhaps more important, than the scalpel and the laboratory. There is an extended review of Sir Ronald Ross's *Fables and Satires*.

#### AMERICAN

**Anglican Theological Review** (January).—C. R. Bowen's 'Comments on the Fourth Gospel' lead up to the conclusion that the author left his manuscript unfinished. 'He never wrote his book—he only collected material out of which he was going to make a book. Ah, that *would* have been a book!' One feels inclined to add that no added care could have produced a nobler or richer book than the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Goodspeed thinks that the Epistle to the Ephesians was 'written, not only to convey its great message of unity in Christ, but to introduce the collected Pauline letters to all the Christian brotherhood, as profitable to them all, and formed the introduction to the collection.'—(April.)—'The Name,' by H. B. Gowen, suggests that 'the linking of ourselves with the name of God through the possession of our Christian name carries with it the prophecy of perfected character.' In the 'New Name' of Rev. iii. 12 'is gathered up the glory of the New Heaven and the New Earth, even all "the power of the age to come."' 'The Spiritual Value of Marriage' is a timely article. 'The Modern Liturgical Movement in German Protestantism' shows that since the war German Protestantism has addressed itself to the task of composing a Prayer Book. The recognition of the place of the congregation in worship is an important feature of the movement.

**The Journal of Religion** (April).—'Ignatius of Antioch,' by Dr. James Moffatt, is 'A Study in Personal Religion.' Three short letters wrung from him as he was hurried from Antioch to martyrdom in Rome throb with individual faith. The central thought in his mind is devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. 'Better that I should die for Jesus Christ than reign over the furthest bounds of earth.'

'What good is any man's praise to me if he blasphemeth my Lord by refusing to accept His incarnation?' There is a note of genius in Ignatius, the genius of personal religion, and of personal religion at its best. Rudolf Otto's address on 'The Common Tasks of Protestantism and the Method of their Fulfilment,' which was given at the Marbury Festival last September, dwells on the great moral questions which have to be faced and the 'ecumenical movement' which is making itself felt.

**Harvard Theological Review** (January).—This number opens with a well-informed article by Dr. Julius Bixler on 'Men and Tendencies in German Religious Thought.' In his judgement the 'theology of crisis' movement is 'now apparently on the wane. . . . A lasting influence seems to be precluded by its proneness to insist that twentieth-century religion shall use terms and conceptions drawn from an age with an entirely different philosophical view.' German thinkers are reaching out 'beyond agnosticism, pessimism, or hedonism to a realm where values are less obvious, but more real.' Dr. Roderic Dunkerley writes on 'The Oxyrhyncus Gospel Fragments,' and, as the result of a critical examination of five sayings, takes a generally favourable view of their authenticity. The conclusion drawn by Professor Roland H. Bainton from his study of 'The Immortalities of the Patriarchs According to the Exegesis of the Late Middle Ages and of the Reformation' is that 'the application of the historical method to the Old Testament has effected a very genuine relief both for religion and for morals.'

**Methodist Review** (March—April).—'Our Pentecostal Symposium,' with its papers from Dr. McDowell and others, its hymns and bibliography, is a welcome sign of the times. Other articles deal helpfully with kindred subjects. 'Protestantism in France' has a million adherents, and 'whether it be in the realm of thought, of morals, or of social activities, it has generally taken the lead, and ultimately imposed its way of seeing on the nation at large.' 'French Cathedrals,' with its account of 'these marvellous old churches' forms an interesting variety in this number. 'The Sermon as a Medium of Worship' looks forward with confidence to the future when the sermon will be elevated to a higher plane, and so reveal even greater power as 'a supreme means of grace.'—(May—June.)—This is a Pentecostal number, which opens with an article by Bishop Welch on 'The Rejected Doctrine of the Spirit.' He says, 'One would be almost startled, outside of this Pentecostal year, to hear a sermon on the Holy Spirit in the regular round of pulpit ministration. Even the books of theology have usually given scant space to this topic.' A second 'Pentecostal Symposium' and 'The Holy Spirit and World Service,' by Bishop Warne, will be studied with special interest.

**Canadian Journal of Religious Thought** (March—April).—Professor Smith writes on 'The Parson in English Fiction: From

Fielding to Trollope." He draws on the Woodforde diaries, on Thackeray, Fielding, and Jane Austen. Mr. Gulliford gives the Wesleyan view of 'Church Union in South India,' which he feels will, when accomplished, make fuller and wider fellowship possible. Mr. Eardley-Wilmot gives the Anglican view. 'It is far better,' he holds, 'when so large a measure of agreement has been reached as is the case in the South India scheme, to make the venture believing that what the Catholic Church holds to be of value will on its own merits win universal acceptance when once the barrier of denominationalism has been broken down.'

#### FOREIGN

**The Kaiser-i-Hind** publishes an 'All-India Special Number,' which supplies a unique meeting-ground for all communities and political parties. Every side of Indian thought is represented by those who speak with authority, and the fine illustrations add greatly to the interest of a number which is in itself a school for reformers and workers of all classes. A difficult task has been carried out with great care and wide knowledge in this outstanding number.

**The Moslem World** (April).—Dr. Zwemer, in 'The Unoccupied Areas,' shows that French Indo-China and Siam have together nearly a million Moslems with no definite Christian work among them and no specially qualified missionary. Afghanistan, with 8,000,000 people and Islam as the predominant religion, is still closed to Christianity. 'Is Turkey a Mohammedan Country?' is not answered by the fact that the new constitution declares that 'the religion of the Turkish State is Islam.' 'Precept, practice, and dogma, not a label, make a creed. The institution which is now in the crucible is not the Islam of the faith. . . . The phoenix which has arisen in Anatolia is an innovation, not a reformation.'

**Calcutta Review** (January).—'The Influence of Fascism on Italian Youth' describes the *Opera Nazionale Ballila* formed by Mussolini for educating the rising generation in the moral principles on which the future prosperity of Italy depends. Ballila is the nickname of the Italian boy Perasso, who gave in 1746 the first impulse to the popular insurrection which led to the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa. The name is always used as a symbol of youthful courage and patriotism. There are over a million boys, and physical development has its due place in the organization, with courses of professional education, concerts, etc.—(April.)—Dr. Ray's 'Presidential Speech at the All-India Medical Conference' dwells on measures for relief and prevention of disease, and points out the need for educating and supplying Indian nurses for the hospitals, and preventing the indiscriminate use of drugs and intoxicants. He pleads strongly for medical organization.